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TO
MR. HUME.

Oldham, 3. December, 1834.

SIR,—I have read your address to the electors of Middlesex; and I think it right thus publicly to address you on the subject. I have not time to notice every part of your letter; but I gather from it that, however the thing may be disguised by the confusion of ideas, you call upon your constituents to join you in censuring the King, for placing in the hands of one man, temporarily, more high offices in the state than one.

Now, then, in 1806, the Whigs brought in, and passed, an act to enable one man to be First Lord of the Treasury, and auditor of the Treasury accounts; a thing in the face of the law of the land, as well as of reason and public utility; and that, too, not for a short time, but, as it might have been, for the life of that man. If you could swallow that camel, surely you can make shift to get down this gnat.

You will say, and truly, I believe, that you were not in Parliament in 1806; but you were in 1821 and 1822. Every one that knows any thing of the nature of our Government, knows that the Secretary of State for the Home Department is the great responsible officer. The Treasury, the Admiralty, are commissions; but the Secretary of State is the responsible person for all that the King does. Now, then, sir, in 1821, all the three Secretaries were in Ireland with the King; and Lord LIVERPOOL was left in charge of the three Secretary of State-

ships. In 1822, Lord CASTLEREAGH, who was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was for the time, while the King was gone to Scotland, Secretary of State for all the three departments; and remember, that the state in which he was at the time was afterwards proved before a jury in Kent!

Yet, sir, not one word did you ever say about these things, though you were in Parliament then, as well as you are now. Now, however, you will suffer no such doings: now you tell us, that if the King can do this for a week, he can do it for a month, he can do it for a year, he can do it for ever; and you would frighten us half to death with the names of *Dictator*, *more-than-prime Minister*, and all sorts of hideous names.

It has been asked, why the King was in such *haste*? Why, what was he to do, *if he meant to continue to be KING*? He found, from Lord MELBOURNE, that the whole band meant to stick in, Chancellor and all. He had seen the great seal dragged along from John O'Groat's house to the south of the Isle of Wight; he had seen the "keeper of his conscience" telling his boozing companions that he would write to him to tell him how they had drunk his health; he had seen that there were but a few steps farther to go, before the people would believe that he was in a pot-house playing at cribbage for his crown; he had seen, or, at least, you and I had, with our own eyes, something worse than this; for we had seen the Chancellor of the Exchequer, while the House was sitting on the clauses of a bill, dancing backward and forward to obtain the assent, or dissent (as to amendments proposed by us); dancing backward and forward to STURGES BOULNE, SENIOR, and penny-a-line CHADWICK, whom he had perched up under the gallery, in the House itself! And there were we, "his Majesty's faithful Commons," deciding according to the "YEA" or "NAY" of SENIOR,

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L

penny-a-line CHADWICK, and STURGES BOURNE!

Why; God ———! But what was the King to do, *if he had a mind to continue King?* All the plagues of Egypt would not be equal to this plague. And But I must break off for the present, and

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. I shall show, in another letter, that you yourself have been one of the *swampers* of your friends.

MANIFESTO

AGAINST THE

WHIG DEPRAVITY.

The origin of the Whigs.

Their deeds before the "Glorious Revolution."

Their deeds at that time.

Their deeds from that time to 1793.

Their deeds then and in 1806-7.

Their deeds from that time to 1830.

Their deeds during the last four years.

Their deeds in America now.

God forgive me! but, somehow or other, I *always* hated this faction, even to their very name. I hated them before I knew any particulars about them. It was not wickedness in me; for I had no *interest* in the matter; they had never done any thing to me: indeed, I had no *reason* to guide me: it was a sort of instinct, such as that which makes a horse uneasy, if you carry blood or garbage into a stable. Time, however, has shown, that instinct was right; reason, experience, and a knowledge of facts, have proved, that in-

stinct had been a good guide in this case; and this will be manifest to every one who shall be pleased to read the following statement as to a few of the deeds of this depraved faction.

THE ORIGIN OF THE WHIGS.

—The name of Whig was given to the faction some little time before they put King Charles the First to death; the word signifying *butter-milk, in a ropy, sour, stinking state*. Well would it have been for England, Scotland, and Ireland, if the faction had had no qualities but these! It has these, to be sure; but, it has, in addition, the voracity of the cormorant, the ferociousness of the tiger, and perfidy of the crocodile.

THE DEEDS OF THE WHIGS BEFORE THE "GLORIOUS REVOLUTION."

—Having cut the King's head off on a charge, that he had *endeavoured* to oppress the people, they first released all the *landholders* from duties, which were due from *their estates* to the nation, and which the Kings had always applied to the carrying on of the Government. But, they *wanted money*, partly to carry on the Government and partly for *pocket-money*. And, how did they get it? Why, took it from THE PEOPLE; not at the point of the bayonet, indeed; but, in the true Whig way; that is, by fraudulent, sly, underhand means. Every landed estate was held, at that time, on *condition* that the holder should render certain dues to the King. The estates had all belonged to the nation; but they had been given to individuals on these conditions; and, by the means of these dues, the kings had always carried on the Government without taxing the people. But, these execrable villains of Whigs, when they had killed the King, released all the landowners from these dues; and laid the burden upon the backs of the people! Reader! do you like the *excise laws*? Do you like the duties upon malt, hops, soap, tobacco, tea, paper, and other things? Do you think that it must have been the devil that first invented them? You are wrong, if you do. It was these execrable villains of Whigs. They released the lands from the dues which they owed to the nation,

and they laid on an excise duty, first on beer, cider, and perry; the next year, on wine, tobacco, sugar, and a great number of other articles, not excepting FLESH! When CHARLES the Second was restored, some of these duties were kept on; and, at last, they amount, as we know very well, to seventeen millions a year, and upwards. If we reckon the monopolies arising out of them, they amount to nearly thirty millions a year, paid almost wholly by the industrious parts of the community. The infernal system was brought to perfection by Sir ROBERT WALPOLE, the notorious Whig Minister; and it is this great curse which now afflicts the nation more than all other things put together. Here you see the industrious people were robbed for the purpose of favouring the aristocracy. It was thus that the Whigs *began*; and you will find that it has been a principle of action never lost sight of, or ceased to be adhered to, from the deed, the base deed, of robbing, of which I am now speaking, down to the Poor-law Amendment Bill, brought in, pushed along, and carried through by the coarser-food Ministry.

AT THE "GLORIOUS REVOLUTION" this detestable faction having brought in a foreigner to be King; having got from him immense grants of public lands, and finding the people hankering after the old English King, laid the scheme of a Bank, and a national debt; began making loans and paper-money; went to war with the amount of these loans, in order to keep out the old King and his family, who, if they had come back, would, to a certainty, have made the Whigs disgorge. Thus began the loans, paper-money, and the debt, which debt, at last, costs us *thirty millions a year in interest*; costs us another fifteen millions a year in establishments necessary to support the debt; costs us as much more in monopolies, arising out of the taxes; takes, in short, full one-half of every man's earnings from him; and produces nine-tenths of all the crime and all the misery that we behold.

THEIR DEEDS FROM THE

"GLORIOUS REVOLUTION" TO 1793.—We know what the Riot Act is: we know what dreadful punishments have been inflicted under that act. That act was brought in, and carried through, by the Whigs, in 1717, under pretence that the people were mutinous, and wanted to overturn the Government. They certainly did want to overturn the Government of the Whigs. But, in the same year, they did *another thing*, which troubles us to this very hour. At their "GLORIOUS REVOLUTION," a bargain was made with the people: it was one of the conditions upon which they took the Dutch King, that a NEW PARLIAMENT SHOULD BE CALLED EVERY THREE YEARS; this was a solemn bargain between the King, brought in by the Whigs, and the people; between that King and the people of England. The people swallowed him with great difficulty; but with the oil of three years Parliaments they contrived to get him down into their stomachs. Accordingly, there was a new Parliament once in three years; but, in 1717, the Whigs, in a Parliament which had been chosen to sit for three years, brought in, pushed through, and passed, a law to enable that same Parliament to *sit for seven years*, and to enable every future Parliament to sit for seven years if the King chose it! The world had never heard of any thing to equal this before; and it never will again, except in the conduct of this detestable faction; who, observe, in their nick-named Reform Bill, have taken care not to shorten the duration of Parliaments. They expressly said that they left that subject open for future discussion. During the two last sessions they have resisted every attempt to shorten the duration; and thus, that which this faction did a hundred and seventeen years ago, still remains to plague and to curse the country. From the time of passing the Septennial Bill, up to the year 1793, they were at work, making and amassing rotten boroughs; and, in short, acting upon their old character whenever they had an opportunity. In 1793 the French war began; and who were the real authors of that

war? Not PITT and DUNDAS, who were decidedly against it. MARET'S correspondence (now called the Duke de BASSANO), which correspondence the reader will find in the *Annual Register*, proves clearly that PITT was against the war: and most anxiously desired not to be pushed into it. At this time, the late Lord SPENCER, the late Lord FITZWILLIAM, the late Duke of PORTLAND, the three greatest leaders of the Whigs, quitted the side on which they had long been; offered to join with PITT *for war*, and against him, *if against war*; and so turn him out of his place, unless he would go to war. This does not clear PITT, who, by-the-by, was a Whig himself, in fact; but it shows, that even in this terribly mischievous undertaking the Whigs had the greatest hand. During the war they might have overthrown the system twenty times; but they took very good care never to give it serious disturbance.

THEIR DEEDS IN 1806-7.—These deeds already prove that they had never been sincere in their opposition to the war; for, though they had a fair offer to make peace, and might have prevented the three hundred millions of debt which was afterwards contracted, they pushed on the war with more vigour and expense than ever; and got into an additional war for Hanover, swearing by all that was good, that Hanover ought to be as dear to us as Hampshire. Well, but now they were in power. Did they now make that parliamentary reform which they had for thirty years been talking about, and moving and petitioning about? A choice band of them, with Lord GREY at their head, had taken the name of "FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE." Well, the "*friends of the people*" were now in power. Did they make the reform that they had petitioned for so pressingly? Did they propose, or even talk of, such a thing? Drunk or sober, did the word ever come from their lips? Never! They had been talking of *retrenchment* and *economy*: they made greater and more scandalous additions to the pension-list, than had ever been made in three times the space by any

former Minister; and, as to abuses in the expenditure; as to peculations, and malversations, they hooted down, or laughed to scorn, every one who mentioned such matters. Besides all which, it was they who first issued those outrageous Orders in Council, which created what were called the "*paper-blockades*," which finally produced the disastrous and terribly expensive war against the United States. At last they were driven out by the effect of their scandalous conduct with regard to the poor Princess of Wales: they were caught in their own trap, tossed out by PERCEVAL, to be hunted upon the cry of "*no popery*," when, in fact, the true cause of their ejection was the threat of PERCEVAL to publish the book about the Princess. But, I must not here omit to notice the desperate efforts which they made to retain their places; and I beg the reader to pay attention to what I am going to say. They brought in a bill, in the House of Commons (Lord GREY was the actor), to make a sort of Catholic emancipation; but nothing like so large a measure as that of the Duke of WELLINGTON and PEEL. The bill had been read a second time, having for it a very large majority, when, all at once, Lord GREY came and moved for leave to *withdraw the bill*! Withdraw it! for what! Why, the King insisted upon its being withdrawn; or, upon turning them out. The bill was withdrawn; but that did not keep them in; for, the King then insisted upon their *signing a paper*, that they would never attempt to do the like again! I dare say that they would have done this; but they well knew that even this would not save them; and, therefore, they refused. Indeed, if this had failed, nothing could have got them out but an "*incendiary fire*."

THEIR DEEDS FROM 1807 TO 1830.—A pretty long spell for them to be hungering and thirsting after the good things of WHITEHALL. I should begin by noticing their profound financial proceedings in the bullion committee, but shall skip over those for the present, and come to their conduct

in 1814 and 1815, relative to matters of war. Always as full of ignorance as of greediness, they pledged themselves to PERCEVAL, in 1811-12, that, if the withdrawing of the ORDERS IN COUNCIL, which was then about to take place; that if that did not satisfy the Americans, they would *join in support of a war against them*. The fools never seem to have perceived, from first to last, what was the great ground of complaint with America. The ground of complaint was the impressment of their own seamen on board of their ships on the high seas, by our naval officers. They complained, indeed, of the ORDERS IN COUNCIL; but that was a mere trifle compared to the other, as the fools might have seen in the declaration of war made by the Congress, and which the reader will find in my *History of George the Fourth*. Thus their tongues were tied during the whole of the war against America, which it is very likely, however, they wished to succeed; and, indeed, I believe this, for the reasons which I have given in relating the anecdote about old TIERNEY, in the *History of George the Fourth*. And, good God! who can forget their meanness, their baseness, their clapping of hands for CASTLEREAGH, their foul-mouthed abuse of BUONAPARTE, their volunteer-votes of money to be heaped upon WELLINGTON; their crying aloud for more troops, more subsidies, to crush "the tyrant of the earth," on his return from ELBA? Who can forget their creeping round the heels of the Tories; and, when kicked away, creeping up again and again? Who can forget their voting *thirty-four millions of money*, by acclamation, for the army alone, in the one single year of 1815? One sickens at the thought of such men daring to call themselves Englishmen! Well, now they had got peace with all the world, a glorious peace, and a riddance of the museums at PARIS. But now, what was their next exploit? The CORN BILL. There was the "reckoning" to pay; and the bushel of wheat was becoming provokingly low in price. Forth stepped both sides upon this occasion; but the

Whigs took the lead, with COKE and WESTERN at their head; and, finally, with soldiers drawn up round the House, they passed the Corn Bill, thinking that, by the means of that bill they should (always acting upon the principle of the primitive Whigs) make the industrious part of the community pay the expenses of the war that they had been carrying on. Here, however, Satan deceived them again. They told their farmers, that the Corn Bill would always keep wheat up at the price of *ten shillings a bushel* at the least; and thus they got the rents out of the poor fellows' pockets, and got them to contract new leases. Now I do not impute roguery to them in this case, their foolishness being so well known to me, and it being well known to all the world, how even cunning men are blinded by greediness. To be sure, I made it as clear as daylight, that, for any length of time, no fool-begotten thing, called a Corn Bill, could keep up the price of corn. However, the contrary was completely sucked down by the nation at large; on went the bill, until the year 1822; when, with the bill in full force, and without a handful of wheat having been brought into the country for three whole years, down came the bushel of wheat to five shillings, instead of that remunerating ten shillings which the Corn Bill was to ensure to the farmers! Thus, then, this famous measure, by which they intended to throw all the burden of the war upon the working people, took not one farthing from their own shoulders, while it brought down upon their heads, and brings down upon them yet, helter-skelter, thick and three-fold, torrents of censure from the lips and the pens of that same working people, who, not unjustly taking the will for the deed, accuse them of having laid a "*tax upon bread*." Shall I stop, or shall I go on? Well, then, we must now go to their proceedings in matters of FINANCE and CURRENCY; where, I think, we shall find materials wherewith to top up their characters as statesmen. They are very willing to *fall in* with the gibes about PEEL'S BILL; and, in the

Morning Chronicle, the other day, the COMMISSIONERS of the coarser-food Ministry called the author of that bill *PEEL'S-BILL-PEEL*: in imitation of the ass, you know, who wanted to be caressed by his master after the manner of his rival, the spaniel. But *EXPUNGING* aside, for the present we will pass over the incomparable baseness of caressing Sir ROBERT PEEL upon that occasion, and now turning upon him with that ridicule which was so well merited from me; passing, for the present, over this evidence of indescribable Whig baseness, let us come to the true history of that most destructive bill, which I have no scruple to declare, and which I have fifty times declared, to have been a thousand times more the work of the Whigs than it was the work of the Tories, ever including Sir ROBERT PEEL himself. In 1810 and 1811, a committee, called the Bullion Committee, having "*the lamented*" BERWICK-SNACK-MAN, HORNER, as its chairman; having the "*mistaken-man*," HUSKISSON; having CANNING; having a great majority of Whigs upon it, reported that a law ought to be passed to compel the Bank to pay in gold, *in two years from that time*; in the midst of war, observe, and with an expenditure surpassing seventy millions a year, twenty millions of which or thereabouts, were raised by a loan! No set of men afflicted with *ordinary* insanity, afflicted with insanity not aggravated by copious draughts of laudanum and brandy, could, for one moment, deem such a measure to be of possible execution. In answer to this report, I wrote what I may fairly call my celebrated book, "*PAPER AGAINST GOLD*." A book may, without any boasting, be called celebrated, when fifty thousand copies have been printed and sold in its native country, and fifty thousand more in America; and when its contents are daily quoted in that foreign country, as arguments in a great and most important dispute. Day-light never was clearer than the proof which I there produced of the insanity of the proposition contained in that Whig bullion report. Yet it is not less clear that that very re-

port was the real foundation of the mischievous measure of 1819. In 1818 the Whigs again pressed the Ministry to act upon that report. TIERNEY, the acknowledged leader of their party in the House of Commons, urged it with all his might and with all his party at his back, and *reproached* the Ministry for not adopting measures to return to the ancient currency of the country: and representing the nation as in a state of acknowledged bankruptcy until such measures should be adopted. *Now comes the blame due to Sir ROBERT PEEL*. Not blame for having been misled by the report of the bullion committee; he could not then have experience sufficient to arm him against that report, notwithstanding the grossness of its absurdity. It was a subject, abstruse in itself, requiring, to be clearly understood, much more time than he had ever had to spare. Then, it came to him with such a mass of *authority*; defended by CANNING; by HUSKISSON; by RICARDO; HORNER for a chairman; TIERNEY to applaud it; Lords KING and HOLLAND, in the other House, shouting to the skies. Not blame because he believed in the doctrines of this report: not blame even because he did not read "*Paper against Gold*"; but blame, *great blame*, due to him, for not reading *my letter to TIERNEY of 1818*; and greater blame to him still, if he did read it. Because, if he did not read it, it was sheer groundless prejudice, or inveterate superciliousness; and, if he did read it, his proceeding after that must have been obstinacy wholly inexcusable; and the "*want of knowledge*" on such matters, which was all that I imputed to him, was the very mildest of all possible descriptions that could be applied to the case; and, though I knew then, as well as I know now, and have always known, that the dunder-headed, presumptuous, and greedy Whigs were the real authors of the measure, there would not have been common-sense in proposing to censure a mob of shuffling politicians. *The author of the bill* was the only man that I could pitch upon; who was the proper man, too, for the further reason, that he

possessed greater talent than any body else of either party, and manifestly would have the united factions at his back. However, small, indeed, is the share of the tremendous mischief that falls to him, compared with that which belongs to the Whigs! TIERNEY, ABERCROMBY, RICARDO; but TIERNEY, who spoke for the whole faction, lamented, that the dear "HORNER had not lived to see his great work accomplished, instead of setting off for the abodes of the blessed, just at a time when events had prepared for him this imperishable wreath of laurel; and that he, TIERNEY, while he was delighted at the measure proposed by the right honourable gentleman, refrained from bestowing a full measure of praise upon it, being aware that honourable members well knew that the measure was his own. Sir JOHN SEBRIGHT said, that the measure did the right honourable gentleman the greatest honour, and that his name would descend to posterity coupled with that of this celebrated bill." If I had not known Sir JOHN SEBRIGHT to be a very sincere man, exactly the reverse of all the actors in his faction, I should have thought him to be jeering here. The name of the bill has, indeed, got thus far in the way of posterity, associated with the name of "PEEL"; and I dare say, that this gentleman wishes most heartily that he could get the two things separated for ever. When the year 1822 came, the Whigs bellowed more loudly than any body else for one-pound notes; and one of their party, PASCO GRENFELL, suggested the propriety of making the one-pound notes a legal tender; in which my Lord VAN seemed kindly to acquiesce; but I, crying out, "Ah, Pasco! Pasco! sayest thou so, Pasco!" frightened VAN off; and he came and said, that he could not assent to that. In February, 1824, when "*Prosperity*" ROBINSON, afterwards GODERICH, and now RYON (how they do change their names!), came to the House, and boasted of the surprising happiness of the country, owing to the wisdom of Parliament; when he vaunted of the gratitude

of the people for the blessings poured forth upon them in such abundant streams, "from the portals of an ancient constitutional monarchy"; and when he expressed his kind compassion for the disturbed intellects of those deluded men, who thought that such a Parliament wanted reforming, his voice was drowned in cheers from both sides of the House, and TIERNEY and BROUGHAM and HUME, as representatives of the whole faction, expressed their joy, but now claimed the merit of the one-pound notes. When taken aback in 1825 and 1826, they exclaimed against the issue of one-pound notes; cordially lent their hand to abolish them again; and up to this day their dunder-headed and absurd notions upon the matter threatened us, if they had remained in power, with some blunder as ridiculous and more perilous than any of the former; a specimen of which they gave us in the session before last, in their legal-tender and joint-stock banking scheme. I now come to 1827, when the faction was all put in motion by the hopes of wriggling and wedging into place along with CANNING. Sir ROBERT PEEL put to Canning the question: What will you do with the *Test and Corporation Acts*? "I will not repeal them," said CANNING, "nor touch them." What will you do with "*Catholic Emancipation*"? Not meddle with it, said CANNING. What will you do with *parliamentary reform*? "Oppose it, in whatever shape or degree it may come before us, as long as I have a seat in this House." Yet, BROUGHAM, Lord JOHN RUSSELL, and all the band of Whigs, except Lord GREY, declared their intention to support him, and were all ready to share in the places and emoluments as fast as he could take them in; and it was in his time that Lord DURHAM got the promise of his title. After this they shuffled along, like a street cripple upon a bowl-dish, seeming to have nothing but their tongues left them; and they went on till the blaze of glory drove out the Duke in the month of November, 1830.

THEIR DEEDS DUNNED THEM



LAST FOUR YEARS.—These need not be written about: they are fresh in the memories of us all. They will always be known by the name of the coarser-food Ministry. The read-coat-court-of-justice bill; the coarser-food bill; the rescinding of the vote for a part repeal of the malt-tax; the Factory Bill; the twenty millions given to the slave-owners; the bands of botheration-commissioners; the everlasting trickery about the stamp-duties; their contemptuous treatment of the questions relative to the shortening of Parliaments and the ballot; their rejection of all inquiry into the pensions; their conduct with regard to POPAY and the spying work; but, above all things, the unfortunate labourers of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Berkshire: these are written in our memories, there to remain while life shall us last.

THEIR DEEDS IN AMERICA NOW.—It is a very curious thing, that the depraved villains, who are combating the just measures of the President of the United States, have taken the name of *Whigs*. The two parties used, in my time, to be called *Federalists* and *Democrats*; but now the horrible paper-money scoundrels call themselves "*Whigs*." It really does seem that the depravity of this faction is so powerful that it draws to itself every infamous thing from every part of the world. But do observe how this faction has always gone on. Wherever there is a chief magistrate, whose functions naturally make him a protector of the people, the Whigs always strike at him first, and then at the people; as robbers first knock down the guard and then proceed to rob the coach. It was thus in the time of the STUARTS; and so it would have been now, but the King gave them no time. In America it is just thus. The infamous aristocracy of money, or, rather, of rags, first aimed a deadly blow at the President; and then immediately at the people. The people have had the good sense to stand by their chief magistrate, in which respect we shall follow their example. It is truly curious, that these ruffians in America should have taken the name of Whigs

all at once; and it is still more curious how exactly they imitate in their manners, and in their objects, our Whigs. They proceed, in the first place by wheedling, and when they have got the victim in their grasp, by ferocious cruelty, they scoff at all the settled laws and institutions of the country, and have really adopted a system of centralization and concentration, just like what was going on here. They had begun to propose lots of commissioners; new sorts of juries; and innovations of every description. The working people, which is the main mass of the nation, had the sense to discover that all this meant robbery of them; plunder of their wages; a *coarser sort of food* for them; and they have aroused themselves and blown the whole scheme into air, having given, as far as their country is concerned, a death-blow to the coarser-food faction.

WM. COBBETT.

Done at Manchester, this 30. day
of Nov. 1834.

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

WILL this take place?—Not NOW, if the Duke is a good politician; for, if he were to dissolve the Parliament *now*, the prevalent opinion would be, that he meant to ride with those long spurs which the Whigs swear he has strapped on his boots; and, in short, it would be roundly asserted by the Whigs that he meant to repeal the Reform Bill itself, and drive us back again to the rotten boroughs. To entertain a thought of this he must first take down double draughts of laudanum and brandy; and, therefore, to give his enemies such a handle would be doing himself a mischief for nothing; without the possibility of advantage on the other side.

His wise course is, to call the Parliament together; and in a speech from the King, very full of that kindness towards his people, and winking a little at any irregular acts that some of them may have committed, and containing recommendations to the Parliament to

proceed cautiously, but in earnest, in any reforms that they may have to suggest to him, or to adopt themselves. Then for the Ministers to take occasion to recommend to the Parliament a repeal of the Poor-law Bill, and of the malt-tax, together with such other things as might appear necessary to the ease and happiness of the people.

If the Duke do this, he will have no need to dissolve the Parliament; or, if he think proper to do it, he may do it with perfect security. *There must be church reform.* The stanchest friends of the church herself allow this. The peace of the country absolutely demands it. It must be; and, if the propositions be *frank*; fully stated, at once; the people will be satisfied: at least, they will be pleased to be fully allowed to discuss the subject fairly by their representatives. The two measures of repeal that I have mentioned would quiet all but about half a million of the whole of the people of England and Wales; and, if the Duke wishes to have a quiet time of it, he will adopt these two measures of repeal.

THE SWAMPER.

Oldham, 2. Dec., 1834.

I WAS sure that the SWAMPER would *come down*; that, somehow or another, he would bring so much mischief and so much shame upon everything that he would have anything to do with, that it would be impossible for him not to be *put down*, unless he should so far get possessed of power as to plunge everything into confusion. The King, by the prompt and resolute exercise of his authority, has prevented this latter; and the SWAMPER has been put down, when the confusion was only *beginning*. Thus far, and thus completely, was my thirty years' prophecy regarding him fulfilled; it is seven years since I actually called him the SWAMPER. He is *down*; but little did I think that he really would literally verify the hyperbolical description of the poet; namely, find in the "*lowest deep* a LOWER DEEP." One

would have thought that the dragging the seals from John O'Groat's house to SHANKLIN in the Isle of Wight: the episode at SALISBURY, and the incident at FAREHAM; one would have thought that a Lord High Chancellor of England; the successor in office of FORTESCUE, Sir THOMAS MORE, and all the long train of great lawyers and dignified statesmen, performing these pranks, palavering at one and the same time, the King and the giddiest part of his people; one would have thought that this was the "*lowest deep*"; and so it was deemed by all men with steady heads upon their shoulders; yet the bawlings and ravings in the Court of Chancery about giving up the great seals were certainly a "*lower deep*"! What! could there be something lower than this? Yes; ordered to surrender the great seals into the hands, *not of the King*; not to any great officer of state even; but one of about four hundred and fifty *generals* that the King has in his army! Can there be a "*lower deep*"; than this? Surely this must be the *lowest* of the low! This must be under the bed of the pool of degradation. If there be anything lower than this it must be in the bottomless-pit itself. Even that we have; for, after all this; after being dismissed from his office; after being ordered to deliver the great seals to a general, a mere equerry of the King; after having been thus driven from the councils, and even the presence of the King, he afterwards begs from that same King the post of *Chief Baron of the Exchequer*; which that same King amidst the plaudits of his subjects, refuses him! To crown the whole, away he goes *into a foreign land*, leaving behind him the POOR-LAW BILL, while those newspapers, who were the trumpeters of his wisdom and science, are now engaged in reviling his opponents for their *want of compassion* in ridiculing his capers, and in describing the *state of his mind*! To feel compassion for him, who has had the audacity to declare openly, in this England, that a legal provision, *even for the aged and infirm*, ought not to exist; to feel compassion for that man, be his state

what it may, is to show a want of compassion for all the poor and destitute part of the human race. Oh, no! let us, on the contrary, remember; and well remember, all his unmerciful sayings; and all the means that he used to extirpate compassion from the English breast. Let us look into the word of God, and there learn how such a man ought to be looked upon and treated; let us look at the denunciations against the oppressors of the poor. Amongst the denunciations against those who "turn aside the poor from their RIGHT," is this: That they shall be driven about here and there; that they shall "make a noise like a dog, and go round about the city" and "wander up and down for meat, and growl" at not being satisfied. What sort of noise BROUGHAM may make in future, I do not know; but, if the newspapers speak truth, he has begun to *wander*, at any rate; for they say that he is gone to *France*. Gone, I suppose, to discover some "*coarser food*" than potatoes and salt! Some mess, made of sour sorrel, and chopped-up stuff along with a little pot liquor or skimmings that we use as cart-grease. However, of this species of *emigration* I highly approve. No matter whither he goes; and if Commissioners GROTE and CLAY and WHITMORE and TORRENS were to join, and apply their own persons, wherewith to put their principles in practice, nobody would take much offence at it. Let him join the stock-jobbing vagabonds in France, and bring to perfection the system of centralization, concentration, accumulation, and amalgamation; let him do this in France, with all my heart; but let us take care that he never again have the power of chopping up our laws and insulting our understandings. He said that, if his poor-law project were not adopted, he himself might become a "*Westmoreland pauper*." His project will never succeed; but it is quite within the scope of possibility that his prophecy may be verified; and that he may yet have to bless, instead of curse, the humane and righteous laws of England.

SIR ROBERT PEEL.

Oldham, 2. December, 1834.

It is possible that, long before this reaches the press, the question, whether Sir ROBERT PEEL will, or will not, join the Duke, may have been settled. However, in this state of uncertainty as to the effect, I venture to hazard an opinion that the Duke, by using the easy means which he has in his hands, may safely go on without Sir ROBERT PEEL. It is not a matter of DEBATING; it is a mere matter of pounds, shillings, and pence. The Duke has in his hands the power, the complete power, of giving the country satisfaction, such as will enable it to wait with patience and with gratitude, without doing any thing to shake any institution, without giving the smallest degree of offence to any description of persons whatsoever. He can repeal the horrible Poor-law Bill, which has set the whole country in a fry; which cannot be executed; and the bare knowledge of the existence of which troubles the peace of every dwelling in the kingdom. I have, in my long political life, witnessed a great many causes of public irritation; but never did I witness one equal to this in the producing of curses loud and deep.

The Duke can repeal the malt-tax, and along with it the hop-tax, which latter yields scarcely one clear penny to the Treasury, while it costs millions to the industrious people. These two taxes together bring about five millions clear into the Treasury; and they *cost the people fifteen millions* at the least, which I have proved to the satisfaction of every impartial person; and, as far as the malt-tax is concerned, I have proved it in the House of Commons, where I received nothing in contradiction to my statements. But, the monstrous monopolies necessarily created by these taxes, mischievous as they are in their effects, are ten thousand times more mischievous in their power of destroying the good manners and the good morals of the working people; and this I also proved in the House of Commons, in a manner that produced conviction on the mind of every gentleman that heard me.

Let the Duke do these two things, and let him plainly say, that he will give a *candid hearing* to all demands of changes to be made in church and state; that he will by no means prevent full and ample discussion on every point: let him do these things, there will be debating talent quite enough always at his service; because the people, sensibly feeling the good that has been done them, will take that as an earnest of more good, and will patiently wait for the further good; having a great deal too much sense to expect that such a mass of evils should be overcome in a day.

The question will arise: what is to be done on the subject of taxes, in consequence of a repeal of the malt-tax? The talk about a property-tax may or may not, grow into a measure; but, let what else may take place, one of these things must take place; the wheat must be raised to eight or ten shillings a bushel; the interest of the debt must be lowered, directly or indirectly; or there must be one-pound notes and legal tender. If any man, looking at America, looking at Portugal, looking at the Brazils, looking at Spain, looking at India, thinks that the first of these three can be accomplished, he must have taken such large draughts of laudanum and brandy as to fit him only for a strait-waistcoat, or for flight out of the country. In short, the first of these three is impossible. With regard to the other two, the last would be most popular and pleasant, while the reduction of the interest of the debt would be exceedingly troublesome; but one or the other *must* come; and, therefore, if Sir ROBERT PEEL be resolved not to resort to either, he certainly will not join the Duke. Some people have been surprised, that Lord ALTHORP, who had a command of the House of Commons so complete, should, during all this rumpus, never have been even *named* by any body! It would seem as if the death of his father had killed him, too; and that he had been buried in the same grave. Else, what prevented him from becoming First Lord of the Treasury, and of selecting some man to fill his place in the House

of Commons? The truth is, that this would have been done, but he knew well, that there must be either reduction of the interest of the debt, or legal tender and one-pound notes; and, Providence having tendered him the means of escaping from the thing, so disagreeable to do, he availed himself of the tender, free from all blame on that account; and left to MELBOURNE and BROUGHAM to get out of the scrape as they could.

How they did get out of it, we have seen; and the question is, will Sir ROBERT PEEL get into it? The answer to this question will depend not upon his liking or disliking of so painful a task; for dislike it he must; but it will depend on the view which he shall take with regard to the consequences to *his own character*, if he refuse to encounter the task. He must not say that he had no hand in *causing* the difficulty; that the difficulty was created by *others*; and that, therefore, he is not bound to encounter it. He must not say this. Besides, he must not plead that he is committed against both these measures, because then he puts his *consistency* (as it is called) at a higher value than his duty to the King, and his duty to the country also. Then how is he to put this high value upon his consistency, when we think of the test and corporation laws, and of the Catholic emancipation? The word *consistency*, as it has been applied to my conduct, would, if acted upon, ruin any nation upon the face of the earth. True consistency means, always adhering to your object, that object being the good of those with whose well-being you are charged.

Therefore, if Sir ROBERT PEEL set up this plea, it will not answer his purpose; and, if he persevere in it, how will he stand? By the Tories he will be charged with recoiling from his duty to the King and the country, from the fear of danger to himself; by the Whigs he will be rejected, because, by embracing him, they would, if possible, add a little deeper dye to their character for insincerity and perfidy; by the Radicals he would be held in scorn and contempt. So that, if he make a just estimate of

the consequences of his keeping aloof from the Duke; if he state the account of danger to himself fairly, he will find the balance greatly in favour of his joining the Duke; that is to say, he will find that there is much less danger in joining than in keeping aloof.

It is evident that neither he nor any other Minister will have much peace of his life, unless he go on with *real* reforms instead of the sham reforms that the Whigs were trying to play off upon the nation; but, can it be possible, that the Tories have not seen by this time, that the safety of the great institutions of the country, particularly the *peerage*, will absolutely demand an *extension of the suffrage to the working people*? Can they be so blind still as not to perceive that the only friends that they have upon this earth, are the working people? Were they all deaf and blind, a few months ago, when the *Morning Chronicle* had a distinct proposition on the part of its masters, the Whigs, TO REFORM THE HOUSE OF LORDS, and when it asserted that the "CONSTITUENCY" must of necessity, as well as of right, now have the sole power of governing the country. Are they so blind as not to see that this ten-pound suffrage must inevitably tend to destroy all hereditary right and power? Could the young lords, who sat away to my right in the House of Commons hear the cheers that were everlastingly ready to burst forth, every time that a word was dropped hostile to hereditary right and privilege, and not clearly see that the titles must soon fall under a MONIED ARISTOCRACY, unless they speedily resorted to the help of the working men for defence against the *élite* of the ten-pounders? Can the Tories be yet so blind as not to see that the danger to the privileged orders is not from the working people, who envy them not; but who, as naturally as the sparks fly upwards, seek shelter under them from the grasping and grinding aristocracy of money? Can they be so blind yet as not to see that it is not from the working people that they have to apprehend danger; but from the envious and strivings of the accu-

mulators of wealth, who regard nothing as not proper to be destroyed, which stands in the way of that accumulation? Can they have forgotten that it was, in fact, the usurers, the money-mongers, that overthrew the Government of France? And what do they now behold, even in the United States of America? The legislative assemblies every where complaining of the inroads and the oppressions of an "ARISTOCRACY OF MONEY." Do they not hear a committee of the Assembly of NEW YORK declaring that this aristocracy is the worst that ever existed in the world? Do they not hear a committee of the Senate of Pennsylvania, reporting almost in the same words? Do they not hear, in reports from committees of all the legislative assemblies in the country, a representation that all public spirit, all love of liberty, all impartial justice, all virtue, all genius, all admiration of valour, are falling down before the influence of this base aristocracy of money? And, do they not see this base and infamous aristocracy actually assailing the chief magistrate of the republic; using their wealth, and even the public treasures, to prevent him from doing justice to the people? And do they not see the *working people* rally round him, and defend him against this base and rebellious combination? There there is *universal suffrage*; and, if there were not; if it were a suffrage like ours, the constitution would have been destroyed, and the people's liberties along with it; and there must have been a bloody fight and a total revolution. If the President had been weak enough to yield to this base aristocracy of money, as our House of Lords has been in the passing of this POOR-LAW BILL, the government of America would have been totally destroyed. If our peers retrace their steps with regard to this measure; then, in the struggle which is approaching, and which must come before it be long, the people will stand by the peers against Mammon; if the steps be not retraced, Mammon will succeed.

SIR ROBERT PEELE will have to consider this matter well; and, upon

a careful calculation of the advantages and disadvantages, he will come to a decision. His wise course is to join the Duke: this is what I should do, if I were as he is in all respects. *Prudence* is a very good thing; and so good is it, that men ought always to be prudent; but then comes the question, what is prudence in a certain case, and what is not prudence; and, as BURKE says, there may be cases when, to run the greatest risks is demanded by prudence; that is to say, in a case where to stand still, where to attempt nothing, must necessarily be followed by more fatal consequences than failure itself. Such appears to me to be now the case that presents itself to Sir ROBERT PEEL, who *may* possibly be injured in character by joining the Duke: but who *must* be destroyed in character (as a politician, I mean), if he do not join the Duke.

MANCHESTER ADDRESS.

IN another part of the *Register* will be seen the proceedings at MANCHESTER, on the 27. of November; and the reader may be sure that he there sees expressed, the sentiments not only of MANCHESTER, but of all the towns round about it, containing altogether, pretty nearly, or quite, *a million of people*. MANCHESTER *proper* contains two hundred thousand. I am here amongst another fifty thousand, at only seven miles distant; there are ten other hives of men, all within twelve or fourteen miles of MANCHESTER: here is this whole body expressing satisfaction at the turning out of the Whigs; and placing the horrible Poor-law Bill in the front of their list of crimes. Great pains have been taken to represent this declaration of opinion in Lancashire entirely to *my influence*. The facts are these. The meeting at MANCHESTER was called while I was in DUBLIN, and when I set out from DUBLIN, on the evening of the Monday, I did not know when it was to be held. I was on board the steam-boat at KINGSTOWN, to go to LIVERPOOL; but finding that there was a

HOLYHEAD boat alongside, I went into that; got into a coach, and went to BANGOR; came along by another coach through St. ASAPH to CHESTER; slept at CHESTER that night; got into MANCHESTER about Wednesday noon, instead of getting there early on Tuesday morning, as I might have done, had I come by LIVERPOOL. This did not show any great desire to hasten to MANCHESTER, at any rate. Upon my arrival I saw some friends, of course, directly; I learnt from them that a meeting was going to be held the next day; and, of course, they heard my opinion as to what ought to be done at that meeting. Of course also I lent them my assistance as far as they required it. But I found the streets of the town placarded with my letter to the King: I found it flying about the streets in hand-bills; and I found my friends at MANCHESTER perfectly concurring with me in the sentiments of that letter; so that my presence at MANCHESTER was not at all necessary to produce that effect which has given so much annoyance to the bands of commissioners in London. However, the commissioners, in the midst of their rabid effusions about my influence having produced this effect, seem to overlook the conclusion to which that assertion necessarily leads. I most heartily detest the Whigs; I look upon them as the worst men that ever were in power; I look upon their Poor-law Bill especially as meriting everlasting execration; and, if it be true, that this million of people are under my influence as to political matters it follows, that here are assembled together, in one district of country, about a twelfth part of the whole of that population of England and Wales *who execrate the Whigs!* A consoling reflection for *pis-aller* PARKES, FRANKLAND LEWIS, penny-a-line CHADWICK, and the rest of the bands of commissioners.

LIVERPOOL MEETING.

VERY different was the conduct of this meeting from that of the meeting at MANCHESTER. At the latter immense hive of industry all was good order;

every one was patiently heard out. Amongst the jobbers and no-nation creatures in that hole of monstrous corruption and bribery, LIVERPOOL, the meeting, not a quarter part of the numbers of those assembled at MANCHESTER, was packed by all the filthy means made use of at the elections in that town. Mr. THOMAS SMITH and Dr. COLLINS, men well known for their excellent characters and their public spirit, were put to silence by a clamorous cry, and a pretended vote, of the meeting. But who were the grand operators of the day? Old OTTIWELL WOOD, and his son WILLIAM, an attorney; the father and brother of WOOD, emphatically called JOHN, to whom the Whigs gave a place of sixteen hundred pounds a year, and who will now, in all human probability, lose that place, notwithstanding his usefulness in cases like that of Mr. SHEIL. Another of the getters-up of this meeting was a BAINES, one of the BAINESSES, editor of a newspaper at LIVERPOOL, brother of a subaltern statesman gone out with MACAULEY, with a salary, perhaps of a thousand or two, pounds a year, a place given him by the SWAMPER; who was put in for Yorkshire, in great part through the instrumentality of the newspaper of BAINES the father. A PRESCOTT was another great actor in this case; a relation by marriage of roaring RUSHTON. Then, there figured the RATHBONES, related by marriage to MACAULEY, who is gone to India with ten thousand a year, and who may be recalled in a month. Mr. SMITH and Dr. COLLINS may, therefore, console themselves; and the country may be perfectly satisfied, that it was a mere packed crew, assembled for the purpose of expressing their regret at the loss of their power of plundering the people.

BIRMINGHAM MEETING.

HERE, too, a mumbling, thumbling resolution having the word "*regret*" in it, but really predicating nothing, was passed by a meeting in a room in the town of BIRMINGHAM, having for their chairman a Mr. PHIPSON, of whom I

have never heard before. The resolution was proposed by a Mr. HENRY SMITH, and seconded by Mr. G. F. MUNTZ; this resolution will be found in another part of the *Register*; but of what description this meeting was, and of what worth its resolution and "*regret*," the reader will perceive, when he is informed, that *neither of the two honest and able representatives of that borough would attend this meeting*; but still more will the reader gather from the able and excellent letter, which Mr. THOMAS ATTWOOD sent to be read to this meeting. I beg the reader's attention to every word in this letter. Mr. ATTWOOD knew the ruffians well. He was not to be carried to a meeting like this by the intriguers of *pis-aller* PARKES, and the like, out of which intrigues this meeting certainly sprang. If, indeed, the people of BIRMINGHAM had been fairly called together as the people of MANCHESTER were, at the requisition of their own representative, Mr. PHILIPS, who came in person and avowed his sentiments; then, indeed, we should have heard the voice of this great and important and public-spirited town; and that voice would have had great weight in the country; as it is, the meeting and the resolution altogether are things to be despised; and we are to look to Mr. ATTWOOD as speaking the voice of that great town. It is curious that Mr. EDMONDS, who spoke in favour of the resolution, observed that it was a question of *quantity*; that both parties administered ARSENIC; but there was a great difference between a grain and an ounce. The Poor-law Bill is a pretty good dose; but, at any rate, I would not, if I had been Mr. EDMONDS, have expressed my regret at the King having taken from our lips even one grain of the deadly poison. "*Laudanum and brandy*," "*laudanum and brandy*," Mr. EDMONDS! That's the stuff, that you ought to have regretted the departure of, if you must needs, for the life of you, express any regret at all.

MR. ATTWOOD'S LETTER.

London, 27. Nov., 1834.
My dear sir,—I was desirous of an-

swering your letter fully, which I have now done in the shape of a letter to my constituents, which I send you herewith, and which I beg you will do me the favour to read to the meeting at the Town-hall to-morrow, and to get published in the *Birmingham Journal*, of Saturday next. If you should not attend the meeting at the Town-hall, pray get my letter read there by Mr. Muntz, Mr. Hadley, Mr. Salt, or some other of my friends, who will do it justice. It is a duty which I owe to the meeting, as constituting a large and respectable part of my constituents, to explain my sentiments and feelings at this great crisis. The two factions have cursed England long. May God grant that the people may now break in between them, and establish the liberty, the prosperity, and the glory of their country for ever!

With regard to the Political Union, my favourite and cherished engine of political power and of national safety, I fear that we cannot efficiently set it in motion. We must have finances in our hands, and we must know a little more of Lord Durham. If the public spirit of the people should be awake, let them give proof of it by contributing their subscriptions, and by placing the "sinews of war" in our hands. Without these in hand it is folly for us to attempt to move.

With sincere wishes for your health and happiness I remain,

My dear sir,

Your faithful friend and servant,

THOMAS ATTWOOD.

George Edmonds, Esq.

"To the electors and inhabitants of the Borough of Birmingham.

"London, 27. Nov., 1834.

"My dear friends and fellow-townsmen,

"In the month of May last year, we held a great meeting for the purpose of petitioning our gracious King to dismiss the Whig Ministers from his councils. Our experience of the Ministers was then short since the Reform of the Parliament had been effected, but it was quite sufficient to satisfy us, that if possible they were worse enemies of the liberty and prosperity of the people, than

even their arrogant, sordid, and unfeeling predecessors. They had given us 'slavery for Ireland, and poverty for England.' They had given us 'internal misery and foreign shame.' They had made a mockery of the sufferings of the people, and hardened their hearts against the prayers of the poor. They had refused to inquire into the distresses of the industrious classes. They had refused to abolish that atrocious measure of fraud, cruelty, tyranny, and plunder, called Peel's Bill; which has for so many years been doubling the wealth of the rich, and doubling at the same time the burdens of the poor, which has palsied the strength of England, and humbled her in the face of her enemies, and is at this moment drinking up, as it were, the very heart's blood of the people. It was, therefore, that we petitioned for the dismissal of the Whigs. They might have taken warning from the tremendous spectacle of popular power, patriotism, and determination, which the men of Birmingham, and of the Midland district, then exhibited. But they regarded us not. They were too busy in dividing the spoil of an oppressed and defrauded nation to have leisure to watch the gathering of the clouds, and to hear the mutterings of the thunder, which to other eyes, and to other ears, would have given ample warning of the coming storm. Well then, my friends, what has been the conduct of the Whigs since our last great meeting on Newhall-hill? Has it not been marked by fraud, trickery, cruelty, tyranny, and delusion? I have stood by their side like a faithful sentinel of the people. I have warned them at every step to fall back upon their ancient professions, and again and again I have urged them, by standing firm upon their ancient principles, to recover their lost place in the affections of the people. I might as well have preached to the winds of Heaven. I spoke of the distress of the people. They smiled in affected contempt. They would listen to nothing unless the dagger and the firebrand were gleaming before their eyes. I demanded the necessary measures to give prosperity at home, and

honour abroad. I reminded them that they had suffered Poland to fall, when the lifting of a finger would have saved her. Unhappy, heroic, betrayed, and deserted Poland!! I urged them to save Constantinople, that magnificent and most important political point, which, to England, is worth a hundred Gibaltars; and in the hands of the barbarous and encroaching Russians is worse than 'pistol at her breast.' What answer did I get from the feeble and cunning, but wretched Whigs? They laughed; and, amid the jeers of their servile supporters, they gravely remarked, that 'really it was the first time they had ever heard that Constantinople was in danger!!' Mark, my friends, at that very moment the Russian armies were in possession of Scutari; and Scutari is Constantinople!!

"But when the Whig Ministers were thus driven up in a corner, they had a very favourite answer to me, which I have heard them make use of three or four times. They gravely assured the House, amid shouts of applause, that 'I wanted war with Russia, because it would produce paper-money for myself, and good orders for arms for my constituents!'

"It is in this way that Turkey and Poland have been sacrificed, countries which England might have saved yesterday by the lifting up of a finger, but which she will have to redeem to-morrow, at the expense of an ocean of blood and treasure.

"No bolder or wiser policy has been pursued towards nations nearer England. The free states of Germany have been delivered up, bound hand and foot, into the power of the Austrian and Russian despots; and Switzerland, that poor but heroic nation, respected by Castlereagh in the treaty of Vienna, has at last been compelled to bend her venerated head under the same iron yoke.

"And what has been the conduct of the Whigs at home? Let the Coercion Bill in Ireland answer. Let the Dorchester labourers answer. Let the Calthorpe-street juries answer. Let the malt-tax; let the prosecutions of the press; let the unrepealed Six Acts; the

unrepealed trespass law; the unrepealed game laws; above all things, let the cruel and sordid new poor-law answer. A host of delinquencies have marked the Whigs throughout their whole Ministerial career. Weeds and weeds alone have grown in their garden; and if, by any accident, the people have ever been led to expect to gather good fruit from such a soil, their wheat has suddenly and cruelly been turned into tares. There are good men among the Whigs, but they have been overpowered and borne down by the bad. These, my friends, are my charges against the Whig Ministers. In May, 1832, I cordially assisted in forcing them back into power. They betrayed my confidence and yours. I will never assist in serving them again, unless I hold them bound in black and white, to do justice to the people; to arrest the robbery and destruction of Peel's bill; to vindicate the honour of England in Turkey and in Poland; to repeal the New Poor-law Act; to repeal the malt-tax and the corn laws; to repeal the Septennial Act; to extend and confirm the reform act; to correct the abuses of the church, and to redress the grievances of the Dissenters; and last, not least, to redress the wrongs and the sufferings of unhappy and long-misgoverned Ireland. The Ministers who will accomplish these great works are the Ministers for me. I trust that no Ministers will rule in England who will not accomplish them.

"In the meanwhile, my friends, we have one satisfaction to reflect upon. Whoever may be Minister, whether Parliament is dissolved or not, will have to conciliate the affections of the people, and to make larger concessions to the public interest and the public will. The late Ministers relied upon a servile and subservient House of Commons, and they set the people at defiance. The new Ministers will most certainly have a refractory and impracticable House of Commons to deal with. Their weakness will be the strength of the people; and they can only hope to govern by conciliating the favour of the people. It is thus to be expected that through the discords of the two factions, which

have so long misgoverned England, the liberty and prosperity of the people will be advanced.

"To me, my friends, it appears that the Earl of Durham ought to be placed at the head of the King's administration. In the Duke of Wellington I have no confidence; I fear his arbitrary habits, and his utter ignorance of the wrongs, and miseries, and discontent of the people. Of one thing I am quite sure, which is this, neither the Duke of Wellington nor the Earl of Durham, nor any other Minister whom the King may select, can possibly prevent a terrible revolution in England, unless Peel's bill be repealed, and the great question of the currency be settled upon such just, honest, and efficient principles as will restore and secure independence and prosperity to the industrious classes. It is of no use to give the people the shadow of liberty without the substance. It is not liberty but tyranny of the blackest kind which prevails, when the industrious classes are defrauded of their profits and capital, and when hundreds of thousands of honest and worthy men have little better prospects before them than the melancholy choice between the jail, the workhouse, and the grave. The workmen in some few instances now do well; but in all such cases they draw their welfare from the destruction of the capital of their employers. This is the unhappy position of our country at present; it must be rectified. It can only be rectified through Mr. Cobbett's plan of an 'equitable adjustment of the national debt and of all taxes, rents, and contracts; or through the abolition or the adjustment of the standard of value, that immense principle which pervades and governs all. I fully agree with Mr. Cobbett in his admirable letter in the *True Sun* of the 25. inst., that 'the former of these would create a turmoil prodigious, while the latter, whatever might be the real operation of it on annuitants and mortgagees, and the like, would be hailed with pleasure and gratitude by ninety-nine hundredths of the people.' Mr. Cobbett adds, 'who will not at all calculate as to what will be the ultimate

and hereafter consequences.' Gentlemen, I know 'the ultimate and hereafter consequences,' and I assert, without fear of contradiction, that if the standard of value is adjusted honestly and efficiently, the child in the cradle will never live to hear the voice of discontent in England.

"Friends and fellow-townsmen,—As I told you at Mr. Beardsworth's, on the 15. of September last, I am not desirous of continuing a representative of the people in Parliament. If I could see an opportunity of giving liberty, prosperity, and glory to my country, I should not hesitate to lend my humble assistance to this great and just and holy work. At present I see but little opportunity of doing good to you or to your country, unless I embark in the clash of factions, and steer a devious and uncertain course. This I have never done; this I never will do. If I can see the means of honestly promoting your liberty and welfare, and that of your country, I am ready to serve you. But if I am to meet again such a Ministry, and such a Parliament as the last, I care not how soon I receive from you a mandate to retire.

"Friends and fellow-townsmen,—In my humble judgment, great days are dawning upon England; days of great interest and great glory, perhaps of great agony and great crime. If these latter dismal anticipations should be realized, all that I have to recommend to you is to repeat my old exhortation, 'Hold fast to the Throne.' The throne is the common unity of the nation. The people of England may there find a common rallying point, where all rights and all interests may be held secure. But if the throne should fall, a wild scene of chaos, and anarchy, and blood, and ruin, is inevitable.

"So long as the throne is secure, all passions and all interests may be conciliated and united there. There will be no civil war. Under the shadow of the King's throne, the people, by the peaceful and significant display of their will, may at all times ensure justice, liberty, security, and prosperity for all.

"My friends,—The times are out of

joint.' I recommend to you moderation, caution, consideration, and prudence, in every thing that you do.

"I am, my friends,

"Your faithful representative,

"THOMAS ATTWOOD."

At a meeting of the electors of the borough of Birmingham, held at the Town-hall on Friday, summoned by a requisition, very numerous signed, and which had been previously posted in the town, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Moved by Mr. Henry Smith, and seconded by Mr. G. F. Muntz,

1. That this meeting is impressed with feelings of deep regret at the transference of his Majesty's confidence from the late administration to a party which has been uniformly distinguished by its resistance to all measures of national improvement, by its avowed sympathies with the cause of despotism throughout the whole of Europe, and by its contemptuous disregard of the popular spirit and free institutions of their own country. Whilst we disavow interference with any exercise of the royal prerogative, we deem it a paramount duty to state, that in our opinion the recent precipitate change in his Majesty's council is fraught with evil the most disastrous to every interest, social and commercial. Requiring, as we do, such extensive alterations of the present ecclesiastical establishment as not merely justice, but the interests of religion imperiously demand, together with such a revisal of our municipal system as may be in accordance with the advancing intelligence of the people, the maintenance of honourable peace abroad, economy at home, the avoidance of all laws by which commerce is restricted, manufactures impeded, or full impartial justice withheld from any class in the United Kingdom. We feel that we should look in vain for such blessings from a party which has ever fostered those abuses under which the nation staggered nearly to dissolution, nor will we be deluded by their specious pretences of a liberal spirit, acting on which would be an exhibition of politi-

cal profligacy so unexampled as to deprive them of respect as private, or confidence as public men. We, therefore, deem it our bounden duty immediately to take such steps as shall bring into action those powers with which the Reform Bill has invested us, and appoint a committee for the purpose of securing, in case of a dissolution of Parliament, such representatives for this borough and the northern division of the county of Warwick, as shall promote the measures, on the acquisition of which we are deliberately and unalterably determined.

Moved by the Rev. T. M. McDonnell and seconded by Mr. Wm. Beale,

2. That the following gentlemen form a committee, with power to add to their number, for the purpose stated in the foregoing resolution.

[Here follow the names of nearly 100 of the principal electors.]

Moved by Mr. Edmonds and seconded by Mr. James James,

3. That the resolutions of this day be inserted in the three Birmingham papers, the *Morning Chronicle*, *Courier*, and *Globe*, the *Sun*, and *True Sun*, and such other papers as the meeting may think fit.

WILLIAM PHIPSON, Chairman.

Mr. Henry Smith having been placed in the chair,

4. That the best thanks of this meeting be given to William Phipson, Esq., for his independent, conciliatory, and decisive conduct this day.

HENRY SMITH.

IMPORTANT MEETING IN MANCHESTER.

The most important meeting ever held in this town since the famous one in May, 1832, for stopping the supplies, took place on Thursday last, being convened for the purpose of petitioning his Majesty on the present alarming crisis. In the first instance, a requisition had been presented to the boroughreeve and constables, signed by 350 persons, to call a meeting, but they had refused, on the grounds stated in the advertisement

in our last, and therefore the meeting was convened by the requisitionists, to be held in the Manor Court-room, Brown-street. Eleven o'clock was the hour fixed upon, and by that time, such was the interest felt on the subject, that the room, which will hold about 1,800 persons, was nearly filled. Among the gentlemen occupying the upper end of the room, we observed G. W. Wood, Esq., M.P. for this division of the county, Mark Philips, Esq., M.P. for the borough, Joseph Brotherton, Esq., M.P. for Salford, Mr. C. J. S. Walker, Mr. T. Harbottle, Mr. A. Kay, Dr. Johns, and Mr. T. Potter. Before the business commenced, Mr. Cobbett (who arrived in town on the preceding day, on his return from Ireland, and has been stopping at the Albion Hotel) was announced, and made his appearance, in company with his colleague Mr. John Fielden, Mr. T. Fielden, Mr. Croft, and others. He was received with enthusiastic cheers, and shook hands with Mr. Philips, Mr. T. Potter, and other gentlemen on the platform. The fine old man looked as well as we ever saw him look, and was in excellent spirits. He appeared much delighted with the cordiality of his reception. In a few minutes Mr. C. J. S. Walker was called to the chair, and at this time, the room being nearly full, a cry of adjournment was raised, and continued for a short time.

The CHAIRMAN, silence having been restored, then proceeded to open the business, and in the first place read the requisition, &c. He then proceeded to say that the last time he had the honour of filling the chair at a public meeting in Manchester, was under circumstances nearly similar to the present. It was in 1832, when the famous petition for stopping the supplies was agreed to. At that time, by their firmness and unanimity, the people of Manchester had prevented the Duke of Wellington from taking office; and he trusted that the exhibition of the same qualities would be made on this occasion, so as to induce the Duke to relinquish office, or to carry out the great principles of reform. (Hear). They had been told,

indeed, that they had no right to interfere in this matter. Now it was true that the King had an undoubted right to dismiss one set of servants and to choose another, as he pleased; but it was equally their right as Englishmen to express their approbation or disapprobation of what was done. (Hear). Nay, they were not only justified in interfering, but they were, in his opinion, imperatively called upon to make known to his Majesty their sentiments. (Hear). They were told to wait until they knew what the Duke would do; but they were content to judge of that by what he had done. To be sure the Duke had granted Catholic emancipation, and had once promised fair to become a reformer; but since that he had made a dead stop, and had told the people of England that the rotten borough system was the most perfect system of representation that could be desired. (Hear). It was possible that a temporary stop might be put to reform by the recent events; but he could never think that the people, after using the exertions they did to wring the Reform Bill from an unwilling oligarchy, that they would rest satisfied until a complete and efficient reform had been effected in all our institutions. [The Chairman here read an extract from a pamphlet put forth by his own father, a zealous and fearless reformer of the last generation, in 1793, which was to the effect that no hazard of person or property should ever deter him from advocating the rights of the people.] That was no idle boast of his revered parent. It was well known that he had periled both; and he (the speaker) was ready and willing to follow his example if necessary. (Loud cheers). He concluded by recommending firmness and moderation, and by expressing a hope that every gentleman would be allowed a fair hearing.

At this moment, the room being crowded, and very warm, Mr. Whyatt asked whether they were to be pent up in that room, or adjourn and have an open-air meeting. Loud cries to adjourn were raised, and the Chairman expressed a perfect readiness to adjourn

if that were the wish of the meeting, but added that he believed there were no preparations for an adjournment. Some persons also suggested that the windows should be open, to let in the air. After some further talk and confusion, Mr. Whyatt said he should withdraw his motion, as there were no hustings prepared. Partial silence being obtained,

MARK PHILIPS, Esq., M.P. for the borough, came forward, and was received with loud applause. He said it was impossible for those accustomed to take an interest in passing affairs to view the present crisis with indifference. He was not come there to pronounce a funeral oration over the remains of the departed administration (hear); but this he would say, that he believed the men who had held office for the last two years had had difficulties to encounter of no trifling character (cheers and hisses); and he must confess that recent occurrences had shown the difficulties to be infinitely greater than he had before conceived them to be. With regard to the acts of that administration much difference of opinion existed. He considered that when they were called to take office they held great cards, but he was bound to admit that they had at least played their cards ill. (hear), and had greatly disappointed the just and reasonable expectations of the reformers. But as regarded the last, the untried administration, (Lord Melbourne's), he must say that they had his approbation of their conduct. He hesitated not to confess that he had great confidence in them. He saw among them men whose previous conduct, whose political career and character so far, afforded something like a guarantee that they were the advocates of measures unlike the milk-and-water policy of their predecessors. He would take upon himself to say that this administration were prepared, he would even go so far as to say that they had in print, and ready for distribution among the members, as soon as the next session of Parliament should have arrived, a measure of church reform which was not of those puny dimensions which some

previous measures had been; and that they were prepared, at an early period of the next session, as soon as the report of the commissioners could be laid before them, to submit to the House a searching and efficient measure of municipal reform. To do them justice, he was willing to give them credit for good intentions, and for a sincere desire to pacify Ireland; and he firmly believed that they were wishful to promote economy and peace. (Cries of Hear, and No, no). He had hoped to support them in the next session of Parliament in their measures, instead of, as heretofore, being compelled so frequently to vote in opposition to the Government. Well, but the untried Government had been dismissed. It was not for him to say at whose instigation, but dismissed they had been, without explanation as to the cause. The Tory press, to be sure, had declared that Lord Melbourne had set forth to the King the difficulties which the Government then laboured under. He (Mr. Philips) would take upon himself to say that this was a base and a treacherous falsehood. (Hear). The Government had taken measures to supply the place of Lord Althorp, and they had made no statement of any difficulties, in their communications with his Majesty. [A band of music was here heard in the streets; the cry for an adjournment was again raised, and it was some time before the hon. Member was able to proceed. Seeing these interruptions, the hon. Member asked if it was the pleasure of the meeting to adjourn, as in that case he would be glad to move the adjournment. Mr. Wroe also addressed the meeting on the subject of an adjournment, and said, that unless accommodation were prepared outside for the speakers, &c., the inconvenience would be as great as at present experienced. Mr. W. here left the room, to make inquiries as to the possibility of an adjournment, and Mr. Philips resumed.] He stated these facts, leaving the meeting to draw their own conclusions from them. But now they came to talk of the Duke, who, like another "admirable Chrichton," had recently

been fulfilling the duties of every department of the state, and wanted nothing to complete the full measure of his glory, but the lawn sleeves and mitre of his Grace of Canterbury, the primate of all England; he would then, indeed, be at once the head of the church and the state. (Hear). The Duke must indeed be a bold man; he was willing to grant that he was a brave man, and he would say that he had been a fortunate man; but he must also be a bold man to undertake the control of affairs at this crisis. He had been already once routed by the reformers; and he (the speaker) suspected that he would still find the reformers to be of sterner stuff, and presenting a more uncompromising front, than the French had shown at Waterloo. (Hear). Could they expect reform from the man who had declared reform to be unnecessary? (Hear). Could they believe that the peace and tranquillity of Ireland were to be maintained, unless the Government were prepared to do justice to Ireland; and he would put it to this meeting to say, whether the Duke was the man to render justice? (Criss of No, no). Had not the Duke declared such meetings as that which he, the speaker, then had the honour to address; had he not declared such meetings farces? (Hear). Would he grant such a measure of municipal reform as would enable the inhabitants of that town to elect in a proper manner their own magistrates, and their own municipal officers, who would call them together in their own town-hall when required so to do, instead of subjecting them to the caprice or the party spirit of those whom he would designate as the mere nominees of the lord of the manor's steward? (Loud cheers). Did they expect that the Duke of Wellington would so reform the system of taxation, as to relieve the productive industry of this country? (No, no). Did they think the Duke likely to carry out those principles which would promote the peace of Europe; or were the views he entertained on the foreign policy of the country likely to maintain our commercial prosperity? (Hear). Would he promote education, and so far pro-

mote the welfare and happiness of the people? (Hear). Would he remove the stamp-tax on newspapers? (A cry of—"Have the Whigs done that?") It was said that the Duke intended to dissolve Parliament. Knowing his (the speaker's) sentiments respecting the duration of Parliaments, the meeting would not think that he could find fault with this, especially as the elections and the character of the House of Commons were now in the hands of the people. Let the people but remain true to the principles they professed two years ago, and success against the Duke was certain. (Hear). They knew what they had to expect from the Tories. They would leave no means untried,—bribery, corruption, intimidation, and threat, would all be used to stave off that reform which had—he hoped but for a moment—been dashed from us. He could not but contemplate the present crisis with great alarm. He feared that Ireland would suffer immeasurably from the re-attainment of office of the Tories; that our foreign policy would be subverted, and the liberties of Spain, Portugal, and even France itself, put in jeopardy. [At this moment there was considerable noise and confusion, as the cry for an adjournment was renewed, and several persons were endeavouring to speak on the subject at once. In the midst of it Mr. Potter exclaimed, "Don't lend yourselves to the Tories by creating confusion." Mr. Prentice here mounted the table, having been along with Mr. Wroe to make inquiries respecting the adjournment. He said it was true there were a number of gentlemen outside who were unable to gain admittance; the only place they could adjourn to was Stevenson-square (in Lever-street), but even there the meeting would be liable to interruption, as the square was continually traversed by carts. Mr. Philips was here able to resume his address]. He would not detain the meeting above a couple of minutes longer, when he would himself move the adjournment if they deemed it necessary. (Hear). He urged the meeting, as they valued the principles of reform, as they cherished a love for everything that was good and

great in the institutions of our country, to observe the utmost possible unanimity in the contest in which they were about to engage. He would press upon their attention the sound advice of Lord Durham, to be unanimous in heart and hand. The Philistines were upon them; but it only required one determined and vigorous effort to shake them off for ever. (Hear).

As the call for an adjournment became louder and more general, the chairman now interfered, and said that if it was the pleasure of that meeting to adjourn he would consent to it immediately, as he had no objection to meet his fellow-townsmen in any place or situation; but he was not quite certain that such was the general wish. It was true there were a number of gentlemen present who wished for a division among them. (Cheers and hisses). He wanted to know why, if it were intended that the proceedings in that room should be heard, a band of music was allowed to be playing in the street. (The band before spoken of was at this time playing very loudly). Who brought that band here? (A cry of "The Tories.") The motion for an adjournment was here moved by Mr. Philips, seconded by Mr. Prentice, and was carried unanimously, upon which the meeting repaired to Stevenson-square.

It was exactly twelve o'clock when the adjournment took place. Upon arriving at the appointed site, we found a commodious hustings erected in Mr. Kearsley's timber-yard, exactly opposite the Leeds and Halifax Commercial Inn. The crowd by this time had become very large—upwards of 10,000 persons according to the ordinary newspaper calculation; but certainly there were nearly 6,000 at one time, a fact upon which we can speak pretty confidently, from the calculations which we and others were enabled to make. Mr. Cobbett accompanied the multitude to the place, and sat behind the speakers during a great part of the proceedings. Mr. Walker having again taken the chair,

Mr. Philips resumed his address. He repeated the advice given by Lord

Durham, respecting unanimity, of heart and hand. Let them exert themselves to pull down the Duke of Wellington from his bad pre-eminence and afterwards, none dared to refuse those reforms to which the country were duly entitled, as the consequences of the Reform Bill. Whoever his Majesty might call to his councils,—whether Lord Durham or Lord Melbourne,—that individual must proceed steadily in the march of reform, without turning on one side, that so we might have secured to us the full benefit of those measures which the people had been so long and so nobly struggling for.—The hon. member concluded by moving the resolution, which was to the effect that the present critical state of affairs demanded for the people of Manchester the public expression of their sentiments, and also that an address be presented to the King, entreating his Majesty to intrust the administration of the government to those statesmen only whose known principles would be an assurance to the country for the carrying forward of those beneficial measures which the people had a right to expect as the fruits of the Reform Bill, and who would remove every acknowledged abuse in church and state.

Mr. CHARLES HINDLEY, of Dukinfield, came forward to second the resolution. He expressed his pleasure at witnessing so large a meeting, on such an occasion. They had met for no party purpose; they had not met to call upon the King to reinstate the Whigs or to dismiss the Tories. They took a much higher ground; the ground of pure and exalted patriotism. There were no doubt men of worth and honesty to be found among all parties; but he should rejoice when the time should come that the Government would be intrusted to men without reference to the party to which they should belong; for party struggles and disputes had been the source of much injury to the people at large. He repeated, they came not there to praise the Whigs. He did consider that when that party took the reins, they ought to have known better how to work the engine, so as to pro-

mote the liberty and happiness of the people. They had, by their milk-and-water measures, measures which were as unpalatable as the mixture by which they were designated, disappointed the just expectations of the honest reformers. They had told the country, indeed, that the Reform Bill was to be a final measure. Now, a tailor might as well tell his customer, when fitting him with his last new coat, that this was to be a final measure, whether he grew fat or lean; a tailor might use this language with as much reason as a government could apply it to a nation always progressing in intelligence and knowledge. (Hear). New wants would call for new remedies; and nothing was more false or monstrous in political science than to call any measure a final measure. (Hear). But though he spoke thus of the Parliament under Lord Grey, he must say that the Government of Lord Melbourne had inspired him with better hopes. What Lord Melbourne might have done of course he could not say; but certainly what he had done did not entitle him to the uncourteous dismissal he had experienced at the hand of his Majesty. With respect to the Duke, what could they expect from a man who, two years ago, had declared the then system of representation to be the most perfect possible? Could they expect such a man to turn round suddenly and grant all the reforms they desired? (Hear). The *London Times* of that evening, to be sure, had a very notable idea, namely, that at the conversion of an old sinner there was always great joy among the faithful. He would fain persuade us that this old Duke had repented of all his political vices, and was ready to grant us all we pleased. But where was the evidence of this conversion? He (the speaker) knew, indeed, that the Duke had been converted; but it was a conversion not of principle but of place; he had been converted from Apsley House to Downing-street (cheers and laughter); and he for one would never trust him till he had given more decisive evidence of his readiness to carry out the great principle of reform. They were told, indeed,

that they had some evidence in the fact of the Duke having carried Catholic emancipation. Yes, but that had cost neither him nor his party a single farthing; but let the reform of those abuses now called for be carried, and it would affect materially their pockets and emoluments. After an allusion to the probable policy of the Wellington government, as set forth in the sentiments expressed by a friend of the Duke's (Lord Strangford), and which were strictly anti-reforming, the speaker urged upon the meeting the importance of unanimity, as by means of that they could carry all their measures, whereas without it they could carry none of them. He alluded to the declaration of Mr. O'Connell on the subject, who had said that he would sink all questions, even the repeal question, until the reformers had again possession of the camp. In the words of Lord Durham, "Let them unite, and let their motto be, Union, liberty, reform, and the constitution." (Cheers).

JOHN FIELDEN, Esq., M.P. for Oldham, next presented himself, and was loudly cheered. He addressed the meeting at very great length, in illustration of the "great and good deed" of the defunct Ministry, at such length, indeed, that we can give but a mere outline of his admirable speech. The last speakers had told them that the Melbourne administration had done no acts which should make the people dissatisfied with them. Why, they had passed the second Coercion Bill for Ireland (Hear); and they had also passed a coercion bill for England; that bill which was miscalled the Poor-law Amendment Bill, and which was one of the most infamous measures that had ever disgraced the administration of any Government. These were the acts of the Melbourne administration; and he (Mr. F.) hoped the meeting would convince the people of England that they at least were satisfied with his Majesty for having dismissed a set of men who were unworthy of the confidence of the nation. (Hear). But there were many acts of omission as well as commission of which the Whig ad-

ministration had been guilty. He (Mr. F.) had had an opportunity of witnessing their proceedings for the last two years, and no man who had paid attention to his votes could imagine that he would lament the breaking up, by any means, of such an administration. He recollected the great meeting two years ago, when he had the honour of being one of a deputation to London to pray the House of Commons to stop the supplies. They expected at that time that some relief from their burdens would result from the success of that step. But had the Whigs relieved them? (Hear). Had they not rather increased their burdens by adding to the standing army? (Loud cheers). Was this, then, an administration to mourn and weep after? (No). No; he hoped and believed that the people would rather rejoice at their dismissal. (Cheers). What the Duke might be he knew not; but he would be compelled, like his predecessors, to turn out, unless he was prepared to effect those reforms which the people were so anxiously looking forward to. But the late administration had prided themselves on carrying the Reform Bill. Why, they had obtained it by the most subservient House of Commons that the country ever saw; and they had, therefore, greater means of doing good than any administration which had preceded them; but instead of availing themselves of this, they turned their backs upon all their former professions, and refused to do those things for the effecting of which they were so clamorous when out of office. (Loud cheers). Even the Reform Bill, about which they had made such a boast, and upon the strength of which they made such large claims upon the confidence and gratitude of the people; even this bill, by the operation of the clauses relative to the payment of rates; most unjust and iniquitous clauses: this bill had given 500,000 fewer voters in the whole kingdom, than the honest friends of the measure had calculated upon. (Hear). They had refused to repeal the Septennial Act, and had also withheld the ballot, although they had strenuously advocated both these measures in opposition to the Tories, when the latter were in power. (Hear). Another thing which the people had prayed for, and in support of which they had presented thousands of petitions, was the repeal of the malt-tax. [Mr. Fielden here narrated the circumstances attendant upon the passing of Sir William Ingilby's motion on this subject, and the recalling of the vote in a few evenings afterwards on the threat of a property-tax by Lord Althorp]. Another popular measure which the Whig Government had failed to effect, and there again basely violated their pledge, was the repeal of the stamp-tax, respecting which a motion had been introduced by his hon. colleague, Mr. Cobbett, in a most admirable speech. To be sure, Mr. Spring Rice, in answer to a question from Mr. Cobbett, after much shuffling and evasion, had stated that he had a bill in his pocket on the subject: but after the delay of one session this bill was thrown upon the table, was not even printed, and no one could ever tell what had become of it. Then they had refused to abolish the church-rates, except an impost out of the land-tax be substituted, to the amount of 120,000*l.* per annum; but this measure, the House of Commons, having the fear of their constituents before their eyes, had refused to pass. The pension list, too, which had formed one of the most favourite topics of descant with the Whigs when out of office, the pension list remained unrevised; and Mr. Robinson's motion for a property-tax, instead of a tax on the necessities of life, had also met with the opposition of the Whig Government. When he thought of those things he felt thankful to his Majesty; and he hoped the meeting would join him in the sentiment; he felt thankful to the King for having dismissed such a Ministry (Hear). As to the Duke of Wellington, he (Mr. Fielden) had little apprehensions respecting him: he could not do worse than the Whigs had done. Only let the people be true to themselves, and they had nothing to fear from him. (Hear, and cheers). They had defeated him on a former occasion by a threat to stop the supplies, and to make a run

for gold; and they could rout him again if necessary. (Loud cheers). Mr. Fielden next spoke of the Factory Bill, touching which he dwelt with great severity on the conduct of the late Government. That bill was now found so defective that it was proposed to be altered in principle; and this, too, not on the suggestion of the factory people, who were most interested in the matter, but on the suggestion of the inspectors, whom he designated spies, and said he always admitted them into his factory, and treated them as spies. (Hear). He repeated that he rejoiced that a Ministry which had done all this had been hurled from power. He hoped the King would never again call them to his councils; and if better Ministers could not be found, then, indeed, the best days of England were departed from her, and nothing but anarchy and confusion might be expected to follow. (Loud cheers). In most that he (Mr. F.) had said he had but told the meeting what the Whigs had not done; among the things which they had done were some which would disgrace them for ever. Among these was the Irish Coercion Bill, the exceeding severity of which was such, that the Government had actually made a boast of it, as being a quality of such extreme degree, that it was unlikely that it would ever become a precedent for any future measure. (Shame). Then there was the Slave Emancipation Bill, wherein a loan of fifteen millions was speedily converted into a gift of twenty millions, and all this while the Government had endeavoured to prove to the planters that free labour was more productive than slave labour. (Hear). As to the Reform Bill, that was carried by the people, and carried in its present shape, bad as it was, against, as he verily believed, the wish of both Whigs and Tories. (Cheers). Then there was the new police, for the maintenance of which one-fourth of the cost was taken out of the national exchequer. But worst of all those was the infamous Poor-law Bill, which took the administration of the poor's affairs out of the hands of the inhabitants of the 13,000 parishes in which it had been

for generations vested (and who also found the money), and lodged it with three gentlemen in London who had no knowledge of or interest in the matter. And would the people submit to this? No, not if the Whigs or even the King himself should will it. (Loud cheers). A storm was brewing of the most alarming character. The people would not live on potatoes and salt, as it was proposed to make them. Lord Althorp had told the House that this precious Poor-law Bill was for the purpose of raising the rate of wages. He (Mr. F.) had told him that he had begun at the wrong end; he had told him to first pass a law, rather, to ensure high wages, and then this bill would be rendered useless. (Cheers). He (Mr. F.) did not want to divide the meeting, but he wanted a few expressions of public opinion. It was important that they should give vent to such expression, and also, whether they were satisfied or dissatisfied with the dismissal of the Whig Ministry. With regard to the Duke of Wellington, he (Mr. F.) had quite as much confidence in him as in Lord Melbourne. (Cheers). He did not wish to interfere with the King's prerogative. Let the people look at the proper selection of those who held the power to control both the King and the Duke, in holding the strings of the national purse. (Cheers). With regard to the present House of Commons, he hoped the King would as unceremoniously dismiss them as he had the Ministry: for they were the basest that had ever sat within the walls of Parliament. Mr. Fielden concluded by moving an amendment, which was read by Mr. Bakewell, Mr. B. remarking that he approved of every word contained therein. It was to the effect that the meeting had heard with satisfaction that his Majesty had dismissed from his councils those Ministers who had disgraced the name of reform, by introducing and carrying through Parliament a Coercion Bill for Ireland, and a Poor-law Bill which was intended to rob the industrious part of the people of their just amount of wages, and to induce them to subsist on coarser food;

men who had resisted every motion for alleviating the burdens of the people, and particularly that heaviest of all burdens, the duty on malt; who had, in the face of their solemn pledge, refused inquiry into the duration of Parliaments, with a view to the shortening thereof, and who had most shamefully broken their promise to revise the duty on stamps: who had exercised a degree of severity regarding the liberty of the press, hitherto unequalled except in the years 1817 and 1819; who had refused all reform in matters relating to the church and state; and who had deceived the people by promises which it was now manifest they had never intended to fulfil. The reading of this amendment was received with loud cheers.

GEORGE WM. WOOD, Esq., M.P. for the southern division of the county, then rose to reply to Mr. Fielden. He said his friend Mr. Fielden had presented a long bill of indictment against the late Ministry, (a cry of "It's true"). but their merits or demerits was not the question which that meeting was called upon to try. (Yes, it is). The original question had no reference to Whig or Tory policy, or measure, whether good or bad; it was simply, that the meeting should express its opinion whether or not it was desirable that his Majesty should call to his councils those men who would honestly and sincerely follow up those reforms in the institutions of the country which the people might consider necessary. This was the simple question they were called upon to decide, and he entreated the meeting not to be led away from it by any arguments, however ingenious or powerful. The King had an undoubted right to exercise his prerogative; but so had the people to express their sentiments as to the course which his Majesty ought to take, and to say whether the Duke of Wellington was a person fitted to administer the affairs of the country at this moment. He (Mr. W.) believed that he was not the fit person at this time. The new liberties of the country were yet of too tender age to be intrusted to the unpromising custody of

the Duke of Wellington as stepfather. (Hear and laughter). The hon. Member concluded by giving his support to the original motion.

Mr. COBBETT (the call for him becoming unanimous) now made his appearance, and was again enthusiastically cheered. He doffed his top-coat, at the same time saying in an undertone, "I must pull off my coat to these Whigs"; and adjusted his dress with great glee, apparently enjoying in anticipation the tremendous flagellation he was about to inflict upon the wretched culprits. Having already devoted so much space to these important proceedings, we can give but a mere outline of Mr. Cobbett's short, but powerful address; we regret this the less, however, as we shall next week have opportunity of doing more ample justice to the hon. Member. "I am glad to see you all, gentlemen," he commenced, "with such merry faces. You are not all in tears, I see, at the fall of the Whigs. (Laughter). You have been called upon, gentlemen, to express something to the King for having exercised his authority in a certain way. Some people, indeed, want you to express sorrow and lamentation. But why? What has the King done? It is not for us to inquire what his Majesty shall do hereafter; but what has he done already? Done, gentlemen! Why he has driven from his councils a set of men who have been more hostile to the liberties of the people, and more cruel to the working men of England, than any administration within my recollection. (Cheers). I have read the two resolutions and the address which you have agreed to, and they have given me great pleasure; but I have heard with still greater pleasure the resolution of censure you have passed upon the Duke of Wellington, for having supported the Whig Coercion Bill (Hear,) the Whig Poor-law Bill, and—what's the other? [Here Mr. Cobbett looked inquiringly round]. Oh, for having voted against the repeal of the malt-tax, which, by-the-by, he never did. (Laughter). No, no; the Whigs took precious care that that should never go before him.

(Cheers). And what do you want more than this? One party brings forward resolutions and an address; the other provides a resolution of censure; and by means of both you express all that, as honest Englishmen, you are called upon to express. But why is the Duke censured, eh? Because, gentlemen, he has acted like the Whigs. (Cheers). And why are you to refrain from expressions of pleasure at the chasing of these Whigs from the King's presence? What have they done, that you should feel other than pleasure at their dismissal: Mr. Philips has told you, and that is their strong argument, that the Whigs have had great difficulties to encounter. Suppose they have: had they the Poor-law Bill to encounter? (Cheers). That was surely their own work; and if they did dash their brains out against a stone-wall, the noodles built the wall first at any rate. (Cheers). Did the Tories compel them to pass this, or did they compel them not to take off the malt-tax, a tax which makes you pay sixpence for a pot of beer instead of twopence. Did the Tories do that? No; but the House of Commons, of which, I being a member of it, I shall say nothing, (laughter); the House of Commons one night agreed, on the motion of Sir William Ingilby, to take off ten shilling of the 20s. 8d. which this tax amounts to, and almost the next night the Whigs, those very Whigs whose dismissal you have been called upon to lament, threatened to leave the King's service if the tax were not put on again. The Tories did not do this at any rate." (Loud cheers). Mr. Cobbett continued to speak with the most withering sarcasm of the conduct of the Whig Government touching the stamp laws, the press, the Dissenters' grievances, &c. He then warmly congratulated the meeting on the character of their proceedings, thanked them on behalf of his constituents, and concluded amidst loud cheers. The meeting then quietly separated, at nearly four o'clock.

Manchester, 27. November, 1834.

At a most numerous and highly re-

spectable meeting of the inhabitants of Manchester and its vicinity, convened by 350 requisitors, and held this day in the Manor Court Room, and from thence adjourned to Stevenson-square, C. J. S. WALKER, Esq. in the chair; the following resolutions and address were carried:

Moved by John Fielden, Esq., M. P.; seconded by Mr. W. G. Seed:

Resolved, That we, assembled at this meeting, have heard with great satisfaction, that his Majesty has dismissed from his councils those Ministers who have disgraced the name of reform, by introducing into Parliament, and carrying through, the Coercion Bill, adding to the cruelties already endured by our fellow-subjects in Ireland; who have introduced and carried through the Poor-law "Amendment" Bill, manifestly intended to rob the industrious part of the people of England of their just wages, and to reduce them to a coarser food, or to starvation itself; who have resisted every motion for alleviating the burdens of the people, and particularly that heaviest of all burdens, the duty upon malt; who, in the face of their pledges to the contrary, have refused to entertain the question whether the duration of Parliaments ought not to be shortened, and whether the ballot, as a mode of voting, ought not to be adopted; who have shamefully broken their solemn promise to revise the duty on stamps; who have, in their executive capacity, exercised oppressions with regard to the poorer and more defenceless part of our fellow-subjects, have exceeded those of the most severe of their predecessors, save and except those of 1817, 1819; and who have perseveringly refused all real reforms in church and state, while they have, by endless procrastination, amused the people with an affectation of intending to do that which it is manifest they never intended to do.

Moved by Mr. John Whyatt; seconded by William Croft, Esq:

Resolved, That an address expressive of these sentiments, be presented to his Majesty by this meeting, and expressing

at the same time our anxious hope that his Majesty, in the exercise of that prerogative, which for our good it is necessary that he should freely exercise, will now, taught by sad experience the consequence of permitting his royal councils to be influenced by unworthy men, in choosing other to supply their place, be directed by his most gracious disposition, and will not select any men who will not be ready to act on the principles of real reform, to do the utmost in their power to relieve the burdens and to restore the liberties and happiness of his people, and thereby to give the best possible security for the stability of his Majesty's throne.

Moved by James Bakewell, Esq.; seconded by Mr. Summers :

Resolved, That the following address be presented to his Majesty :

TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble address of the inhabitants of the town of Manchester.

May it please your Majesty,—We your Majesty's dutiful subjects, the inhabitants of Manchester, in town meeting assembled, beg leave to approach your Majesty with an expression of our great satisfaction on hearing that your Majesty has been pleased to dismiss from your councils those Ministers who have disgraced the name of reform by introducing into Parliament, and carrying through, the Coercion Bill, adding to the cruelties already endured by our fellow-subjects in Ireland; who have introduced, and carried through, the Poor-law Amendment Bill, manifestly intended to rob the industrious part of the people of England of their just wages, and to reduce them to a coarser food, or to starvation itself; who have resisted every motion for alleviating the burdens of the people, and particularly that heaviest burden of all burdens, the duty on malt; who, in the face of their pledges to the contrary, have refused to entertain the question whether the duration

of Parliaments ought not to be shortened; and whether the ballot as a mode of voting, ought not to be adopted; who have shamefully broken their solemn promise to revise the duty on stamps; who have, in their executive capacity, exercised oppressions with regard to the press hitherto unequalled; whose severities towards the poor and more defenceless part of our fellow-subjects, have exceeded those of the most severe of their predecessors, save and except in 1817 and 1819; and who have perseveringly refused all real reform in church and state, while they have, by endless procrastination, amused the people with an affectation of intending to do that which it is manifest they never intended to do.

While thus we express our deep sense of gratitude for your Majesty's having upon this occasion exercised in this manner that prerogative which it is necessary for our good that your Majesty should freely exercise, we beg most humbly to express our anxious hopes that, taught by sad experience the consequence of permitting your royal councils to be influenced by wild and unworthy men, your Majesty will, in the choosing of others to supply their place, be directed by your own most gracious disposition; and that your Majesty will not be prevailed upon to select any man who will not be ready to act on any principles of real reform, to the utmost in their power, to lighten the burdens and to restore the liberties and happiness of your industrious and faithful people, and thereby give the best possible security to the stability of your Majesty's throne.

Moved by George Condy, Esq.; seconded by ——— :

Resolved, That the address now read be signed by the chairman on behalf of this meeting, and that he forward the same to the Earl of Durham; and request that his Lordship will be pleased to present the same to his Majesty.

Moved by A. Prentice, Esq.; seconded by Mr. John Doherty :

Resolved, That while this meeting withholds its approval of the late administration, it cannot separate without

expressing its strong disapprobation of the conduct of the Duke of Wellington in supporting the Coercion Bill, the Poor-law Amendment Bill, and other oppressive measures; and declares that it has no hope that the anti-reform party, of which he is the head, will ever carry into effect any measure of real reform.

Moved by Charles Hindley, Esq.; seconded by _____:

Resolved, That the best thanks of this meeting be given to C. J. S. Walker, Esq., for his readiness in occupying the office of chairman, and for his able and impartial conduct in the chair.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

KINGSLEY, J., Biggleswade, Bedfordshire, sheep-jobber.
WIFFEN, W., Alpha Cottages, St. John's Wood, plumber.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

SMITH, S., King William-street, saddler.

BANKRUPTS.

ABRAHAM, A. E., Exeter, optician.
BELL, G., Chertsey, Surrey, tailor.
BRADLEY, B., and R. Cattel, White Hart-court, Lombard-street, wine-merchants.
BRAY, A., Red Lion-yard, Holborn, horse-dealer.
CALDWELL, M., Austinfriars, merchant.
COATES, J., Worcester, woollen-draper.
FORSTER, J., Easingwold, Yorkshire, money-scrivener.
HAINES, W. F., Leamington, Warwickshire, surgeon.
HASSELL, J. N., Shrewsbury, mercer.
HUNT, H. F., St. Mary at Hill, wine-merchant.
JONES, A., and J. Foyster, Halstead, Essex, ribbon-manufacturers.
PHILLIPS, G., and J. Whittow, Haverford-west, linen-draper.
RABY, B., Preston, Lancashire, innkeeper.
SMALL, A. D., St. Peter, Herefordshire, dealer in cattle.
SMITH, J. D., Norwood, stable-keeper.
STEVENS, J. S., Duke-street, Grosvenor-square, plumber.
WINCH, J., Stratford, Essex and Cambridge-heath, Bethnal-green, coach-master.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 2.

BANKRUPTS.

ASHWORTH, S., Houghton Hall, Lancashire, hat-manufacturer.

ATKIN, J., Bridgewater-square, stationer.
BELT, R., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, merchant.
BLANKLEY, E., Bloomsbury-market, plumber.
BLIGH, R., Bishop Auckland, Durham, surgeon.
BOOTHROYD, J., Stayley-bridge, Lancashire, stone-mason.
BROWN, J., Wapping-wall, victualler.
CHURCHILL, E., Cardiff, Glamorganshire, shoe-maker.
CROSSLEY, B., Rotherham, Yorkshire, tailor.
EADS, J., Stonehouse, Devonport, silk-mercer.
ELKINGTON, W., Birmingham, money-scrivener.
GRAY, R., King-street, Aldgate, ironmonger.
HICKS, J. P. and E., Eastington, Gloucestershire, clothiers.
JONES, T., Little Newport-street, Leicester-square, trimming-seller.
MASON, S., Liverpool, victualler.
MOORE, R., Brighton, hotel-keeper.
RIPLEY, W., Sheffield, builder.
SMITH, T. D., Norwood, Surrey, stable-keeper.
WESTLY, W. K., Salford, Lancashire, flax-spinner.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Dec. 1.—Though the supplies of Wheat from Kent and Suffolk were only moderate, and from Essex rather less than usual, yet the trade opened heavily, and merely the selected samples realized the rates of this day se'nnight, while all other descriptions proved slow sale even at a decline of 1s. per quarter. In bonded Wheat nothing transpiring.

The show of Barley was not large, but the maltsters evincing little disposition to purchase, good qualities of Chevalier as well as other malting Barley was 1s. per quarter lower than last Monday, the ale brewers alone taking extra parcels of Chevalier at the previous rates. Distilling and grinding parcels participated in the decline. Foreign malting Barley was offering at 37s. to 39s. duty free.

Malt was dull, and rather cheaper, 64s. being a top quotation.

Oats in fair supply, but dealers not exhibiting much inclination to purchase, awaiting further arrivals, the trade was by no means brisk, though Monday's prices were realized for the sales effected. In bonded qualities nothing doing.

Beans coming to hand more freely, were 1s. to 2s. per quarter cheaper.

White boiling Peas, in consequence of the mildness of the weather, are heavy sale, and prices barely supported. Few parcels of grey or maple Peas offering, and quotations fully maintained.

The Flour trade dull, and ship marks slow sale at the quotations.

The Government contract announced on the 25. of November for 2,000 quarters of red, and 500 qrs. of white Wheat, as well as 500 qrs. of Peas, part deliverable in three weeks, and the remainder in six weeks afterwards, had had no influence on the trade.

Wheat, English, White, new....	42s. to 55s.
Old	48s. to 56s.
Red, new.....	40s. to 44s.
Old	44s. to 46s.
Lincolnshire, red	38s. to 43s.
White	40s. to 45s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 42s.
White	42s. to 44s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	40s. to 44s.
Fine white	44s. to 45s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	44s. to 45s.
Irish, red, good.....	35s. to 36s.
White	38s. to 42s.
Rye, new	30s. to 33s.
Old ..	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	28s. to 30s.
Distilling.....	30s. to 34s.
Malting	34s. to 36s.
Chevalier ...	38s. to 41s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new.....	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	34s. to 36s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Harrow, new.....	36s. to 38s.
Old	40s. to 42s.
Peas, White, English	38s. to 40s.
Foreign	36s. to 40s.
Grey or Hog	40s. to 42s.
Maples.....	42s. to 45s.
Oats, Polands.....	22s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, short small	22s. to 25s.
Lincolnshire, feed	21s. to 24s.
Yorkshire, feed.....	22s. to 24s.
Black.....	24s. to 26s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato, new.....	26s. to 28s.
Old.....	27s. to 31s.
Angus, new	25s. to 26s.
Old	26s. to 28s.
Banff and Aberdeen, common new	24s. to 26s.
Old.....	26s. to 28s.
Potato	26s. to 28s.
Old.....	27s. to 29s.
Irish Potato, new.....	23s. to 25s.
Old.....	23s. to 26s.
Feed, new light	18s. to 21s.
Black, new	20s. to 21s.
Foreign feed.....	24s. to 26s.
Danish & Pomeranian, old	20s. to 22s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c... ..	22s. to 24s.
Foreign, in bond, feed....	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
Cambridge	40s. to —s.
York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 62s.
Single ditto,....	44s. to 48s.

Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
Cumberland ...	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, December 1.

This day's supply of Beasts and Porkers was great; the supply of sheep and calves rather limited. Trade was, with each kind of meat, exceedingly dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

About two-sixths of the Beasts were Shorthorns, the remainder about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Scots, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, with about 50 Town's-end cows, 20 Sussex beasts, a few Staffords, &c.

About three-fifths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the Southdown and white-faced crosses; about one-fifth Southdowns; and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Lincolns, Ryelands, horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 2,600 of the Beasts, about a third of which were Shorthorns, about 150 of them Scots, and the remainder about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts and Irish Beasts, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and other of our northern districts; about 250, fully four-fifths of which were Scots; the remainder about equal numbers of Devons, Welsh runts, and homebreds, with a few Irish beasts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 140, in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 40, a full moiety of which were Sussex beasts, the remainder runts, Devons, and Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and most of the remainder from the neighbourhood of London.

THE FUNDS.

per Cent.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.
Cons. ann.	91	91½	—	91½	91½	91

CURE OF A VIOLENT ASTHMA.

To Mr. Drew, Hygeist, General Agent for Yorkshire.

DEAR SIR,—A lady, Hannah Herring, in the village of Billingley, gave the following account to me, desiring that I would give it, for the benefit of the public, every publicity. She had been for twenty-eight years afflicted with a most violent cough, great difficulty in breathing, expectorated largely, and

prevented from taking any regular rest. Frequently she had to sit up whole nights, and at other times was confined to her bed six months at a time, during which confinements every day was expected to be her last. She tried the regular methods of the faculty, without deriving any lasting benefit. At length, hearing of the astonishing effects of Morison's Medicine upon others, she applied to me for the pills, and, after taking a few boxes, the cough, difficulty in breathing, and every other symptom of disease, began to disappear, and, with perseverance, a cure was obtained; yes, sir, she says a perfect cure, as eleven months have passed, and she has not had a return of her old complaint, to the great honour of the Hygeian's cause. She is willing to give every information to any person who may wish to be acquainted with the particulars of the case.

The next is a cure of Scarlet Fever. This day four weeks, I was called on to attend a child, the son of Mr. W. Watson, that was very ill of Scarlet Fever. At the commencement of its illness, it was much relaxed; a medical gentleman was called in, who began with the usual methods of mistreatment, for it became costive after taking his medicine: the child of course became worse daily, until neither the parents nor the doctor had any hopes of its recovery. To this low ebb was the child reduced when I was called in, I ordered it to have six pills of No. 2, immediately; two hours after I called again, ordered it to have six pills more; when in came the doctor, who, in my presence, said there was no hope of its recovery, yet he ordered leeches, to keep down, as he said, inflammation. When the M.D. had gone, I ordered the leeches not to be applied, reasoning with them, from what the doctor had said, that there was inflammatory matter (humour) in the system; again in the evening it had eight pills. I called next morning (Saturday) found it a little better, gave it six pills; during the day it had two more doses, six pills at a time. I called next morning (Sunday) found it much better, and out of all danger. Its discharges were of the most offensive kind; but it continued some time taking one dose daily, which assisted nature to throw out the redundant humours. The child is yet weakly, but in good health, with a good appetite.

The next is a discharge of worms. I will here just mention, that a boy parted with three tape-worms, by taking the pills; the first was five yards long, the second three yards, and the third two yards long. Yours most obediently,

WILLIAM STUBBS.

87, West-street, Sheffield,
20. April, 1834.

PROSPECTIVE ENDOWMENT ASSOCIATION, instituted by FRANCIS CORBAUX, F.R.S., for providing, on Marriage, ENDOWMENTS to the CHILDREN issuing therefrom, and for other Purposes.

CAPITAL—ONE MILLION, in 5,000 Shares of £200 each. A Deposit of £5 per share to be made at Messrs. PRESCOTT, GROTE, and Co.'s, Bankers, Threadneedle-street; or at Messrs. HERRIES, FARQUHAR, and Co.'s, Bankers, St. James's-street, on the allotment of Shares being made by the Board.

This Association, in contemplation of or subsequently to any Marriage, will, for a contribution once paid, depending as to its amount on the Wife's age, grant to the Children thereafter issuing from such Marriage, how many soever in number, Endowments available to each, on completing any agreed year of age, and to be an exclusive property of the Children for whom contracted; it will also undertake to pay agreed sums at early periods from the birth of each Child, such to be the property of the Parents: it will grant Endowments available at optional ages, to Children individually, and actually born, or on approaching Birth: it will undertake to pay, on a Husband's demise, either a Reversionary Sum, or a Jointure by Annuity to his Widow: and lastly, in case of any endowed person contracting Marriage previous to the age at which the Endowment should become available, it will, for an equitable consideration, absolutely assure payment to the representatives of that person at the originally-stipulated period, in the event of intervening death. It is reserved hereafter to annex other branches of business in analogy with the above.

Contributions may be entirely discharged at the time of contracting, or be converted into annual payments, whether for terms of years certain, or else made to depend on life-contingencies, with or without security; thus affording the Public every accommodation consistent with safety.

The Benefits intended to be conferred will extend to all classes; having in view to protect large families against the vicissitudes of fortune, whilst the beneficent provision, multiplying as the Family increases, will possess certainty as to time, and exemption from requiring the previous death of a Parent. The plan of this Institution, matured during very many years, having met with the highest approbation wherever communicated, and in particular of many at the head of public affairs, a degree of popularity unprecedented in the annals of Provident Institutions is confidently expected.

A List of the Directors will shortly be announced. In the meantime, applications for Shares are received, and Prospectuses (exhibiting extracts from the Tables) may be had of Messrs. Lacy and Bridges, Solicitors to the Association, 19, King's Arms Yard, Coleman-street.

FRANCIS CORBAUX.

Managing Director.

A SPECIAL CAUTION.—Whereas numerous frauds are constantly practised by persons substituting for BETTS' PATENT FRENCH DISTILLED BRANDY, articles spurious in their character, and decidedly inferior in all their qualities; and the continuance of such practices, when undetected, being naturally calculated to create a prejudice against the legitimate article, J. T. BETTS and Co. may stand excused for earnestly cautioning the public against forming any opinion of what may be represented as their Brandy, without previously satisfying themselves of its identity. Whenever this is done they feel assured that any existing prejudice, however deeply rooted, must yield to the manifest superiority of its quality; and the wide difference between theirs and the articles thus fraudulently substituted for it, will, by comparison, be rendered apparent to even the least experienced persons. By this test, and upon the intrinsic merits of their Brandy, they are perfectly willing that it should stand or fall.

It is not without some degree of reluctance that J. T. Betts and Co. again press upon public attention the subjoined testimonials, selected from many others of eminent chemists, by whom their Brandy has been analysed; but the continuance of the frauds to which they have here adverted, compel them to adduce in its favour the evidence of names whose high character and talent are beyond all question.

EXTRACTS FROM TESTIMONIALS.

"Your Brandy is free from uncombined acid and astringent matter, which exists more or less in most of the Brandies imported from France.

"JOHN THOMAS COOPER,
"Lecturer on Chemistry."

"To Mr. Betts."

"I am bound to say, and do assert it with confidence, that for purity of spirit this cannot be surpassed, and that your Patent Brandy is also quite free from those acids which, though minute in quantity, always contaminate the foreign spirit.

"JOSEPH HUME,
"Chemist to his Majesty."

"J. T. Betts, Esq."

J. T. Betts and Co. may further be allowed to state, that they are not connected with any other house, and that they do not sell any other article than Brandy, which is of the highest legal strength, and may, at all times, be tasted at their distillery, No. 7, Smithfield-bars, their only establishment; where it may be had, either pale or coloured, at 18s. per Imperial Gallon, sent to any part of town, in quantities not less than two gallons, for cash on delivery.

Established nearly forty years, at No. 4, Holborn Side of Bloomsbury-square.

THE IRISH LINEN COMPANY beg leave to state that the above House is their only establishment. Purchasers are requested to take notice, that since the dissolution of the Irish Linen Board, vast quantities of Shirting, Bed and Table Linen, made from an admixture of Cotton and Flax, are constantly imported from Ireland into this country, and vended to the public as genuine Linen Cloth. Such fabrications are not, and never will be sold at this Establishment; and the public may rely on being supplied with real Flaxen Cloth, the same as that sold at this House for upwards of thirty years, at greatly reduced prices. The purchase money returned should any fault appear. Good Bills and Bank of Ireland Notes taken in payment. Country and town orders punctually attended to by John Donovan, No. 4, Bloomsbury-square, Agent.

93, FLEET-STREET,

Near the avenue to St. Bride's church.

SWAIN & Co., Clothiers, Tailors, and Drapers, gratefully acknowledge the almost unprecedented support with which they have been honoured by the public; and beg to say that nothing shall induce them in any way to relax in their exertions to retain that patronage with which they have been so kindly favoured.

As SWAIN & Co. manufacture their own woollen goods, they are able to supply gentlemen's clothing at a much lower price than they can be procured for at any other house in the trade.

The following is a List of their Prices for Cash:

Superfine Coats, of Fashionable Colours, from patent finished Cloths	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
	2	10	0	to	3	5	0
Ditto, Blue or Black	3	5	0		3	15	
Extra Saxony Wool, Blue or Black	3	13	6	& upwards			
Superfine Frock, with Silk Facings	3	10	0	to	4	0	0
Ditto Trowsers	1	0	0		1	10	0
Summer Trowsers	0	14	0		1	1	0
Kerseymere Waistcoats	0	12	0		0	14	0
Marseilles Ditto	0	8	0		0	10	6
Valencia and Toilenet	0	10	6		0	14	0
Silk Ditto	0	16	0		1	0	0
A Suit of Livery	4	4	0		4	10	0

Naval and Military Uniforms, Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, Children's Dresses, Shooting Jackets and Hunting Coats, Camlet and Plaid Cloaks, Witney Wrappers, and every other garment equally cheap.

Export orders punctually executed.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

WM. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.